The
Robert E. Gross
Collection
A Memorial to the Founder
of the
Lockheed Aircraft
Corporation

Business Administration Library
University of California
Los Angeles

K 2
2344

A TRVE RELATION OF THE VNIVST. CRVELL, AND BARBAROVS PROCEEDINGS against the ENGLISH at AMBOYNA

In the EAST-INDIES, *by the Neatherlandish* GOVERNOVR *and* COVNCELL *there.*

Also the copie of a Pamphlet, set forth first in Dutch and then in English, by some Neatherlander; falsly entituled,

A TRVE DECLARATION OF THE Newes that came out of the EAST-INDIES, with the Pinace called the HARE, which arriued at TEXEL in *June*, 1624.

Together with an Answer to the same PAMPHLET.

By the English EAST-INDIA Companie.

THE SECOND IMPRESSION.

Published by AVTHORITIE.

LONDON,
Printed by *H. Lownes* for *Nathanael Newberry*, 1624.

DEVS · INDIGA

To The Reader.

Gentle Reader, thou maiſt (perhaps) wonder why this Relation of the buſineſſe of Amboyna, ſo many months ſince taken vpon the oaths & depoſitions of our people that came thence, and preſented to his Majeſty, and the Lords of his Priuy Councell; cometh now at laſt to the Preſſe, and was not either ſooner publiſhed, or altogether ſuppreſſed. The truth is, the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company haue euer been very tender of the ancient amity and good correſpondence held between this Realm and the Neatherlands, and haue been very loth, by diuulging of the priuate iniuries done

them:

them by the Neatherlands East-India Company, to giue the least occasion of any distaste or disaffection, which might haply growe betweene these two Nations, for the sake and on the behalf of the two Companies respectiuely. For which cause, although the wrongs and iniuries, or rather contumelies done vnto the English by the Dutch in the Indies, haue beene as intolerable as manifold; as to say nothing of those great heapes of them buried in the Amnesty *of the Treaty of the yeare* 1619. *and only to point at the generall heads of those committed since that Treaty, and grossely contrary to the maine intent, and expresse words and disposition of the same: first, in the point of hostility; the inuasion of the Islands of Lantore and Polaroone, then and before in the quiet possession of the English, in the name of the Crowne of England; the taking of the same Islands by force; the razing and demolishing of the English Forts; the binding of the English (that had not so much as resisted them) to stakes with ropes about their neckes, throttling them with the same, and flourishing their naked swords about them, as if they would presently haue dispatched them; then taking them so amazed and bound, and tumbling them downe the rockes; and after, carrying their crushed and bruised carcases away in irons: secondly, in the*

point

point of their vſurped ſoueraignty; their taking vpon them the Conuſance of controuerſies between the Engliſh and the Indians, for matters paſſed farre without the compaſſe of the Neatherlands pretended juriſdiction, and executing their ſentences therupon by plain force; ſeizing of the Engliſh Companies goods; fining, impriſoning, ſtocking, yea, whipping our people at a poſt in the open market-place, and after, waſhing them with vinegar and ſalt: thirdly, in point of partnerſhip with the Engliſh; their putting great ſums to the common account, which were disburſed to the priuate and ſole behoofe of the Dutch; giuing great Preſents for the glory of the Dutch, without conſent of the Engliſh, and making warre for the inlargement of their owne dominion, yet bringing the charge to the common account; together with infinite other the like, the particulars whereof would ariſe to a juſt and ample volume: Neuertheleſſe, the Engliſh Company from time to time contented themſelues with informing his Majeſtie and his Honourable Priuy Councell with their grieuances priuately in writing, to the end that neceſſary relief and reparation might bee obtained, without publiſhing any thing to the world in print, thereby to ſtir vp or breed ill bloud between theſe Nations, which are otherwiſe tied in ſo many re-

ciprocall obligations. And the same course they haue hitherto holden also in this crying busines of of Amboyna; onely offering to the Manes *of their murdered Countrey-men, Factors and Kinsfolks, their effectuall endeauours in a dutiful course vnto his Majesty, for justice for their innocent blood, and reparation of the honour of the nation heerein interessed. In which their wonted way they were so constant, that they could not be driuen out of the same by the contrary course of some of the other party; that not glutted nor mollified with the blood of these innocents, nor with all the other sufferings of the English in the Indies, published a Pamphlet in print in the Netherlands Language, not only in justification of this barbarous butchery, but withall in disgrace of the English Nation, and the laws and justice of the same. But behold now further, the same Pamplet, being called-in by an Edict of the States generall, was yet afterwards translated and printed in English, and dispersed euen in this Realm it self, to braue and disgrace vs at our own dores, and in our owne language. This, no English patience can bear: the bloud of the innocent cryes out against it: the honor of the nation suffereth in it. Wherefore the English East-India Companie is heerby inforced, contrary to their desire and custome, to haue recourse also to the Presse, to maintaine*

taine the reputation of thoſe their Countrey-men and ſeruants, that loſt their liues vnjuſtly; and to acquaint the world with the naked truth of this cauſe, hitherto masked, muffled, and obſcured in a fog of fictions, concealments, and crafty conueiances of the Author of this Pamphlet, and his clients the Gouernor & Councel (ſo termed) of Amboyna.

Hauing thus acquainted thee, gentle Reader, with the reaſons why this buſineſſe was no ſooner publiſhed in print, it remaineth yet further, that thou be ſatisfied in an objection or two more, which common reaſon will ſuggeſt vnto thee. Without doubt, reading this diſcourſe, and being a true patriote of thine owne Countrey, and a well-willer of the Neatherlands (as we preſume and wiſh thee to be), thou wilt wonder how it commeth to paſſe, that our Nation, which hath not been wont to receiue ſuch diſgraces, ſhould now be ſo weak & vnprouided in the Indies, as to ſuffer ſuch indignities, and to be ſo groſly ouertopped, outraged & vilified there: as alſo thou wilt no leſſe admire, that any of the Netherlands nation, which hath receiued ſuch and ſo many fauors and ſupports from hence, and held ſo good & antient correſpondence with our nation, ſhould now offer & commit ſuch odious cō-tumelies on Engliſhmen, their partners & allies by ſpeciall Treaty. Herein thou wilt ſoon anſwer thy

ſelfe, if thou but conſider the different end and deſigne of the Engliſh & Dutch Companies trading in the Indies, appearing by their ſeueral courſe and practiſe reſpectiuely. The Engliſh being ſubiects of a peaceable Prince, that hath enough of his owne, and is therewith content, without affecting of new acqueſts; haue aymed at nothing in their Eaſt-India trade, but a lawfull and competent gaine by commerce and traffick with the people of thoſe parts. And although they haue in ſome places builded Forts, and ſettled ſome ſtrength, yet that hath not beene done by force or violence, againſt the good will of the Magiſtrates or people of the countrey; but with their deſire, conſent and good liking, for the ſecurity only of the Trade, and vpon the ſaid Magiſtrate and peoples voluntarie yeelding themſelues vnder the obedience and ſoueraignty of the Crown of England; their owne ancient lawes, cuſtomes and priuiledges, neuertheleſſe reſerued. Further, the ſame Engliſh had vndoubted confidence in the Neatherlands Nation there alſo trading, eſpecially being lately conjoyned with them in the ſtrict alliance and ſociall confederacy of the year 1619. and therefore attended nothing from them, but the offices of good affection and partnerſhip. Vpon theſe grounds, the Engliſh Company made their equipages anſwerable only to

a courſe

a course of cõmerce and peaceable traffick; not expecting any hostility, neither from the Indians, nor especially from the Dutch. On the other side, the Neatherlanders, from the beginning of their trade in the Indies, not contented with the ordinary course of a fair and free commerce, inuaded diuers Islands, took some Forts, built others, and laboured nothing more, than the conquests of Countries, and the acquiring of new dominion. By reason whereof, as they were accordingly prouided of shipping, souldiers, and all warlike prouision, as also of places of Rendeuouz vpon the shore, and thereby enabled to wrong the English aswell as others: so the cost and charges of their shipping, Forts, and souldiers, imployed vpon these designes, rose to such an height, as was not to bee maintained by the trade they had in those parts. Wherefore, for a supply, they were forced (as some of their owne Countrymen and Aduenturers in their Company, affirm) to fish with dry nets, that is to say, to pick quarrels with the Indians, & so to take their ships, & make prize of their goods. Which yet not answering their charge and aduenture, they proceeded also to quarrell with the English, to debarre them of trade to free places; and for attempting such trade, to take their ships & goods. Touching which, when a good order was set by the said treaty of the yeer 1619.

yet they ſaw, they could not make their reckoning to any purpoſe, vnleſſe they vtterly draue the Engliſh out of the trade of thoſe parts; thereby to haue the whole and ſole traffick of the commodities of the Indies in theſe parts of Europe, in their owne hands; and ſo to make the price at their pleaſure, ſufficient to maintain & promote their conqueſts, and withall to yeeld them an ample benefit of their trading. Which vnleſſe they can, by this and the like worrying and wearying of the Engliſh, bring to paſſe, it is eaſie to be iudged by thoſe that vnderſtand any thing of the courſe and ſtate of the trade of thoſe parts, that albeit their returnes heerafter ſhould proue as great continually, as of late extraordinarily they haue happened to be, yet the maine ſtock and eſtate of the Company muſt needs abate and decay by ſome hundred thouſands of pounds yeerly. Thus, Reader, thou ſeeſt what hath made vs vnprouided againſt ſuch accidents, and what now enforceth the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, or their ſeruants in the Indies, againſt the common Genius *of their Nation, and the wonted firm affection between theſe two Nations mutually, thus to degenerate, and break out into ſuch ſtrange and incredible outrages againſt their neereſt allies and beſt-deſeruing friends. Farewell.*

A TRVE

RELATION OF THE LATE VNIVST, CRVELL, AND BARBAROVS PROCEEDINGS AGAINST the *Engliſh* at AMBOYNA in the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the *Neatherlanders* there, vpon a forged pretence of a Conſpiracy *of the ſaid Engliſh.*

AFter the fruitleſſe iſſue of two ſeuerall Treaties: the firſt *An.* 1613. in *London*; and the other, *An.* 1615. at the *Hage* in Holland, touching the differences betweene the Engliſh and Dutch in the *Eaſt-Indies*: at laſt by a third Treaty, *Anno* 1619. in *London*, there was a full and ſolemne compoſition made of all the ſaid dif-

differences, and a faire order set for the future proceeding of the Suppostes of both Companies in the Indies; aswell in the course of their Trade and commerce, as otherwise. Amongst sundry other points, it was agreed, That in regard of the great blood-shed and cost, pertended to bee bestowed by the Hollanders in winning of the Trade of the Isles of the *Molluccos*, *Banda*, & *Amboyna*, from the Spaniards & Portugals, & in building of Forts for the continuall securing of the same, the said Hollanders therfore should enioy two third parts, of that Trade, and the English the other third; and the charge of the Forts to bee maintained by taxes and impositions, to bee leuied vpon the Merchandize. Wherefore, in consequence of this agreement, the English East-India Company planted certaine Factories for their share of this Trade; some at the *Molluccos*, some at *Banda*, and some at *Amboyna*. Of the two former of these, there will be, at this present, small occasion to speake further; but the last will proue the Scene of a sad Tragedie.

This *Amboyna* is an Island lying neere *Seran*, of the circuit of fortie leagues, and giueth name also to some other smal Islands adiacent. It beareth Cloues; for gathering and buying in whereof, the English Companie for their part had planted fiue seuerall Factories, the head and *Rendevouz* of all, at the town of *Amboyna*; and therein first Master *George Muschamp*, and afterward Master *Gabriell Towerson*, their Agents, with directions ouer the smaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* vpon the same Island, and at *Cambello* and *Loho*, vpon a point of the neighbouring Island of *Seran*.

Vpon

Upon theſe Iſlands of *Amboyna*, and the point of Seran, the Hollanders haue foure Forts: the chief of all is at the ſaid Town of *Amboyna*, and is very ſtrong, hauing foure Points or Bulwarks with their curtains; and vpon each of theſe Points, ſix great peeces of Ordnance mounted, moſt of them of braſſe. The one ſide of this Caſtle is waſhed by the Sea; and the other is diuided from the land with a ditch of foure or fiue fathome broad, very deep, and euer filled with the Sea. The Garriſon of this Caſtle conſiſteth of about 200. Dutch ſouldiers, and a company of free Burgers. Beſides theſe, there is alwaies a matter of three or foure hundred Mardikers (for ſo they call the free Natiues) in the Town, ready to ſerue the Caſtle at an houres warning. There lie alſo in the road (for the moſt part) diuerſe good ſhips of the Hollanders, aſwell for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occaſions of traffick; this beeing the chief *Rendeuouz* aſwell for the Iſlands of Banda, as for the reſt of *Amboyna*. Heer the Engliſh liued; not in the Caſtle, but vnder protection thereof, in a houſe of their owne in the Town: holding themſelues ſafe, aſwel in reſpect of the ancient bonds of amity between both nations, as of the ſtrict conjunction made by the late Treatie before-mentioned.

They continued heer ſome two yeers, conuerſing and trading together with the Hollanders, by vertue of the ſaid Treaty. In which time there fell out ſundry differences and debates betweene them; the Engliſh complayning, that the Hollanders did not onely lauiſh away much money in building, and vnneceſſary expences vpon the Forts and otherwiſe, and bring large and vnreaſonable reckonings thereof

to the common accompt; but alſo did, for their part, pay the Garriſons with victualls and cloth of *Coromandell*, which they put off to the Souldiers at three or foure times the valew it coſt them, yet would not allow of the Engliſh Companies part of the ſame charge, but onely in ready money; thereby drawing from the Engliſh (which ought to pay but one third part) more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and vpon the like occaſions, grew ſome diſcontents and diſputes, and the complaints were ſent to *Iaccatra*, in the Iſland of *Iaua Maior*, to the Councell of defenſe of both Nations there reſiding: who alſo, not agreeing vpon the points in difference, ſent the ſame hither ouer into Europe, to be decided by both Companies here; or, in default of their agreement, by the Kings Maieſtie, and the Lords the States Generall, according to an Article of the Treatie of the yeare 1619. on this behalfe. In the meane time, the diſcontent betweene the Engliſh and the Dutch, about theſe and other differences, continued and daily increaſed, vntill at laſt there was a ſword found, to cut in ſunder that knot at once, which the tedious diſputes of *Amboyna* and *Iaccatra* could not vntye. And this was vſed in manner as followeth.

About the eleuenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri*, a *Iapon* Souldier of the Dutch in their Caſtle of *Amboyna*, walking in the night vpon the wall, came to the Sentinell (being a Hollander,) and there, amongſt other talke, asked him ſome queſtions touching the ſtrength of the Caſtle, and the people that were therein. It is heer to be noted, that thoſe *Iapons* (of whom there is not thirty in all the Iſland) did, for the moſt part, ſerue the Dutch as Souldiers, yet were not

not of their truſty bands, alwaies lodged in the caſtle, but vpon occaſion called out of the town to aſſiſt in the Watch. This *Iapon* aforeſaid, was for his ſaid conference with the Sentinell, apprehended vpon ſuſpicion of treaſon, and put to the Torture. Thereby (as ſome of the Dutch affirmed) hee was brought to confeſſe himſelfe, and ſundry others of his countrey-men there, to haue contriued the taking of the Caſtle. Heereupon, other *Iapons* were examined and tortured, as alſo a Portugall, the Guardian of the Slaues vnder the Dutch. During this examination, which continued three or foure dayes; ſome of the Engliſh-men went to and from the Caſtle vpon their buſineſſe, ſaw the priſoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge; but all this while ſuſpected not, that this matter did any whit concerne themſelues; hauing neuer had any conuerſation with the Iapons, nor with the Portugall aforeſaid. At the ſame time there was one *Abel Price*, Chirurgion of the Engliſh, priſoner in the Caſtle, for offering in his drunkenneſſe to ſet a Dutch-mans houſe on fire. This fellow the Dutch tooke, and ſhewed him ſome of the Iapons, whom they had firſt moſt grieuouſly tortured, and told him, they had confeſſed the Engliſh to haue been of their confederacy, for the taking of the Caſtle; and that if he would not confeſſe the ſame, they would vſe him euen as they had done theſe Iapons, and worſe alſo. Hauing giuen him the torture, they ſoone made him confeſſe what euer they asked him. This was the fifteenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri*. Forthwith, about nine of the Clock the ſame morning, they ſent for Cap-

Abel Brice examined.

taine *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the Engliſh that were in the Town, to come and ſpeak with the Gouernor in the Caſtle. They all went, ſaue one that was left to keep the houſe. Being come to the Gouernor, he told Captain *Towerſon*, that himſelf and others of his Nation were accuſed of a conſpiracy to ſurpriſe the Caſtle; and therefore, vntill further triall, were to remain priſoners. Inſtantly alſo they attached him that was left at home in the houſe, took the merchandize of the Engliſh Company there into their owne cuſtody by Inuentory, & ſeized all the cheſts, boxes, books, writings, & other things in the Engliſh houſe. Captaine *Towerſon* was committed to his chamber, with a guard of Dutch ſouldiers. *Emanuel Tomſon* was kept priſoner in the Caſtle: the reſt, *viz. Iohn Beomont, Edward Collins, William Webber, Ephraim Ramſey, Timothie Iohnſon, Iohn Fardo & Robert Brown*, were ſent aboard the Hollanders ſhips then riding in harbour, ſome to one ſhip, and ſome to another, and all made faſt in Irons. The ſame day alſo the Gouernor ſent to the two other Factories in the ſame Iland, to apprehend the reſt of the Engliſh there. So that *Samuel Colſon, Iohn Clark, George Sharrock*, that were found in the factory at Hitto, and *William Grigs*, and *Iohn Saddler* at Larica, were all brought priſoners to *Amboyna* the ſixteenth of February. Upon which day alſo *Iohn Powle, Iohn Wetherall*, and *Thomas Ladbrook*, were apprehended at Cambello, and brought in irons vnto Amboyna, the twentith of the ſame moneth. In the meane time, the Gouernour and Fiſcall went to worke with the priſoners that were already there. And firſt they ſent for *Iohn Beomont*, and

and *Timothie Iohnſon*, from aboard the *Vnicorn*; who being comne into the Caſtle, *Beomont* was left with a guard in the Hall, and *Iohnſon* was taken into another room. Where, by and by, *Beomont* heard him cry out very pitifully; then to bee quiet for a little while, and then loud again. After taſte of the torture, *Abel Price* the Chirurgion, that firſt was examined and tortured (as is aboue-remembred), was brought in to confront and accuſe him. But *Iohnſon* not yet confeſſing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Iohnſon* brought again to the torture; where *Beomont* heard him ſometime cry aloud, then quiet againe, then roare afreſh. At laſt, after hee had been about an houre in this ſecond examination, hee was brought foorth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in diuers parts of his body, and ſo laid aſide in a by-place of the Hall, with a ſouldier to watch him, that he ſhould ſpeak with no body. Then was *Emanuel Tomſon* brought to examination; not in the roome where *Iohnſon* had beene, but in another ſomething farther from the Hall. Yet *Beomont*, being in the Hall, heard him roare moſt lamentably, and many times. At laſt, after an houre and an halfe ſpent in torturing him, hee was carried away into another room another way; ſo that hee came not by *Beomont* through the Hall. Next, was *Beomont* called in, and, beeing demanded many things, all which hee denied with deep oathes and proteſtations, was made faſt to be tortured; a cloth tied about his neck, and two men ready with their Iarres of water to be powred on his head. But yet for this time the Gouernor bade looſe him; hee would ſpare him a day or two, becauſe hee was an old man. This was all Saturdayes worke, the

Emanuel Tomſon examined.

fifteenth of February aforeſaid.

Vpon Sunday the ſixteenth of February, *William Webber*, *Edward Collins*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, and *Robert Brown*, were fetcht from aboord the *Rotterdam*, to be examined. At the ſame time came *Samuel Colſon*, *William Griggs*, and *Iohn Clarke*, *George Sharrock*, and *Iohn Saddler*, from *Hitto* and *Larica*, and were immediately, vpon their arriuall, brought into the Caſtle-Hall.

Robert Browne examined.

Robert Browne Tailor was firſt called in; and being tormented with water, confeſſed all in order as the Fiſcall asked him.

Edward Collins examined.

Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told, that thoſe that were formerly examined, had confeſt him as acceſſary to the plot of taking the Caſtle. Which, when he denied with great othes & execrations, they made his hands and feete faſt to the Racke, bound a cloth about his throate, ready to bee put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be reſpited, and he would confeſſe all. Being let downe, hee againe vowed and proteſted his innocency; yet ſaid, that becauſe hee knew that they would by torture make him confeſſe any thing, though neuer ſo falſe, they ſhould doe him a great fauour, to tell him what they would haue him ſay, and hee would ſpeake it, to auoide the torture. The Fiſcall hereupon ſaid; What? doe you mocke vs? and bade, Vp with him again; and ſo gaue him the torment of water: which he not able long to endure, prayed to be let downe againe to his confeſſion. Then he deuiſed a little with himſelfe, and tolde them, that about two moneths and a halfe before, himſelfe, *Tomſon*, *Iohnſon*, *Browne*, and *Fardo*, had plotted, with the helpe of the Iapons, to

ſur-

ſurpriſe the Caſtle. Heere he was interrupted by the Fiſcall, and asked, whether Captaine *Towerſon* were not of that conſpiracy. Hee anſwered, No. You ly, ſaid the Fiſcall: did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that thoſe daily abuſes of the Dutch had cauſed him to think of a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your conſent and ſecrecie? Then ſaid a Dutch Merchant, one *Iohn Iooſt* that ſtood by, Did not you all ſweare vpon a Bible to be ſecret to him? *Collins* anſwered with great oaths, that hee knew nothing of any ſuch matter. Then they bade make him faſt againe: whereupon he then ſaid, All was true that they had ſpoken. Then the Fiſcall asked him, whether the Engliſh in the reſt of the Factories, were not conſenting to this plot. He anſwered, No. The Fiſcall then asked him, whether the Preſident of the Engliſh at Iaccatra, or M. *Welden* Agent in Banda, were not plotters or priuie to this buſineſſe. Againe he anſwered, no. Then the Fiſcall asked him, by what meanes the Iaponers ſhould haue executed their purpoſe. Whereat, when *Collins* ſtood ſtaggering and deuiſing of ſome probable fiction, the Fiſcall holpe him, and ſaid, Should not two Iaponers haue gone to each point of the Caſtle, and two to the Gouernours chamber doore; and when the hurly-burly had bin without, and the Gouernour comming to ſee what was the matter, the Iaponers to haue killed him? Here one that ſtood by, ſaid to the Fiſcall, Do not tell him what he ſhould ſay, but let him ſpeake of himſelfe. Whereupon the Fiſcall, without attending the anſwer to his former queſtion; asked what the Iapons ſhould haue had for their reward. *Collins* anſwered, 1000. Ryalls apeece. Laſtly, he asked him, when this

this plot ſhould haue beene effected. Whereunto, although hee anſwered him nothing (not knowing what to deuiſe vpon the ſudden) yet hee was diſmiſſed, and very glad to come cleere of the torture, though with certaine beleefe that hee ſhould die for this his confeſſion.

Sam. Colſon examined.

Next was *Samuel Colſon* brought in, being newly arriued from Hitto, as is before touched; and was the ſame day brought to the torture: who, for feare of the paine wherewith hee ſaw *Collins* come out, in ſuch a caſe, that his eyes were almoſt blowne out of his head with the torment of water; choſe rather to confeſſe all they asked him: and ſo was quickly diſmiſſed, comming out weeping, lamenting, and proteſting his innocency.

Iohn Clark examined.

Then was *Iohn Clarke*, that came with *Colſon* from Hitto, fetcht in, and a little after was heard (by the reſt that were without in the Hall) to cry out amaine. They tortured him with water and with fire, by the ſpace of two houres. The maner of his torture (as alſo of *Iohnſons* and *Tomſons*) was as followeth: Firſt they hoiſed him vp by the hands with a cord on a large dore, where they made him faſt vpon two Staples of Iron, fixt on both ſides at the top of the dore poſts, haling his hands one from the other as wide as they could ſtretch. Being thus made faſt, his feete hung ſome two foot from the ground; which alſo they ſtretcht aſunder as far as they would retch, and ſo made them faſt beneath vnto the dore-trees on each ſide. Then they bound a cloth about his necke and face ſo cloſe, that little or no water could go by. That done, they poured the water ſoftly vpon his head vntill the cloth was full, vp to the mouth and noſtrils

noſtrills, and ſomewhat higher; ſo that he could not draw breath, but he muſt withall ſuck-in the water: which being ſtill continued to bee poured in ſoftly, forced all his inward parts, came out of his noſe, eares, and eyes; and often as it were ſtifling & choking him, at length took away his breath, & brought him to a ſwoune or fainting. Then they tooke him quickly downe, and made him vomit vp the water. Being a little recouered, they triced him vp againe, and poured in the water as before, eftſoones taking him downe as he ſeemed to be ſtifled. In this maner they handled him three or foure ſeuerall times with water, till his body was ſwolne twice or thrice as bigge as before, his cheekes like great bladders, and his eyes ſtaring and ſtrutting out beyond his forehead: yet all this hee bare, without confeſſing any thing. Inſomuch as the Fiſcall and tormentors reuiled him, ſaying that he was a Diuell, and no man, or ſurely was a Witch; at leaſt had ſome charme about him, or was enchanted, that he could beare ſo much. Wherfore they cut off his haire very ſhort, as ſuppoſing he had ſome witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoiſed him vp againe as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottome of his feete, vntill the fat dropt out the candles; yet then applyed they freſh lights vnto him. They burnt him alſo vnder the elbowes, and in the palmes of the hands; likewiſe vnder the arme-pits, vntill his inwards might euidently be ſeene. At laſt, when they ſaw he could of himſelfe make no handſome confeſſion, then they ledde him along with queſtions of particular circumſtances, by themſelues framed. Being thus wearied and ouercome by the torment, hee

answered yea, to whatsoeuer they asked: whereby they drew from him a bodie of a confession to this effect; to wit, That Captaine *Towerson* had vpon New-yeares day last before, sworne all the English at *Amboyna* to bee secret and assistant to a plot that he had proiected, with the helpe of the Iaponers, to surprise the Castle, and to put the Gouernor and the rest of the Dutch to death.

Hauing thus martyred this poor man, they sent him out by foure Blacks; who carried him between them to a dungeon, where he lay fiue or six daies without any Chirurgion to dresse him, vntil (his flesh being putrefied) great Maggots dropt and crept from him in a most loathsom & noysom maner. Thus they finished their Sabbath daies work; & it growing now darke, sent the rest of the English (that came that day from Hitto, and till then attended in the Hall) first to the Smith's shop, where they were loaden with Irons, & then to the same loathsom dungeon where *Clarke* and the rest were, accompanied with the poore Iaponers, lying in the putrefaction of their tortures.

The next morning, being Munday the seuenteenth of February, old stile, *William Griggs* and *John Fardo*, with certaine Iaponers, were brought into the place of examination.

Will. Griggs examined. The Iaponers were first cruelly tortured, to accuse *Grigs*; which at last they did: and *Grigs*, to auoid the like torture, confessed all that the Fiscall demanded.

Iohn Fardo examined. By and by the like also was done by *Iohn Fardo*, and other Iaponers: but *Fardo* himselfe endured the torture of water, and at last confessed whatsoeuer the Fiscall asked him; and so was sent back to prison.

The same day also *Iohn Beomont* was brought the second

ſecond time to the Fiſcals chamber; where one Captaine *Newport* a Dutch-mans ſon (borne in England) was vſed as an Interpreter. *William-Grigs* was alſo brought-in to accuſe him; who ſaid, that when the conſultation for taking of the Caſtle, was held, then hee(the ſaid *Beomont*) was preſent. *Beomont* denied it with great earneſtneſſe and deep oaths. At laſt being triced vp, and drenched with water till his inwards were ready to crack, he anſwered affirmatiuely to all the Fiſcals interrogatories: yet as ſoon as hee was let down, he cleerly demonſtrated to Captain *Newport*, and *Johnſon* a Dutch Merchant then alſo preſent, that theſe things could not be ſo. Neuertheleſſe hee was forced to put his hand to his confeſsion, or elſe hee muſt to the torture againe: which to auoid, hee ſubſcribed; and ſo had a great iron bolt & two ſhackles riueted to his legs, & then was carried back to priſon. *Ioh. Beomont examined 2°*

After this, *George Sharrock*, Aſsiſtant at Hitto, was called in queſtion; who, ſeeing how grieuouſly others were martyred, made his earneſt prayer to God (as ſince vpon his oath hee hath acknowledged) that he would ſuffer him to make ſome ſuch probable lyes againſt himſelf, as the Dutch might beleeue, and ſo hee might eſcape the torment. Being brought to the Rack, the water prouided, and the candles lighted, he was by the Gouernor and Fiſcall examined, and charged with the conſpiracy. He fell vpon his knees, and proteſted his innocencie. Then they commanded him to the Rack, and told him, vnleſſe hee would confeſſe, he ſhould be tormented with fire and water to death, and then ſhould be drawne by the heeles to the gallows, and there hanged vp. He ſtill perſiſting in his innocencie, the Fiſcall bade him be hoiſed *George Sharrock examined.*

vp. Then hee craued reſpite awhile, and told them, that he was at Hitto, and not in *Amboyna*, vpon New-yeeres day, when the conſultation was pretended; neither had beene there ſince Nouember before, as was well knowne to ſundry of the Hollanders themſelues, that reſided there alſo with him. Heereupon, they commanded him againe to the Racke: but hee, crauing reſpite as before, now told them, that hee had many times heard *Iohn Clark* (who was with him at Hitto) ſay, That the Dutch had done them many vnſufferable wrongs, and that he would be reuenged of them: to which end, hee had once broken with Captaine *Towerſon* of a braue plot. At which word the Fiſcall and the reſt were attentiue, encouraging him to proceede. So hee went on, ſaying, that *Iohn Clark* had entreated Captain *Towerſon*, that he might go to Maccaſſar, there to conſult and aduiſe with the Spaniards to come with gallies, and rob the ſmall Factories of Amboyna and Seran, when no ſhips were there. Heere they asked him, what Captain *Towerſon* ſaid to this. He anſwered, that Captain *Towerſon* was very much offended with *Clarke* for the motion, and from thenceforth could neuer abide him. Heereupon the Fiſcall called him rogue, & ſaid he prated all from the matter, and ſhould to the torture. Hee craued fauour againe, and began another tale; to wit, that vpon Twelf-day then laſt paſt, *Iohn Clark* told him at Hitto, that there was a practice to take the Caſtle of *Amboyna*; and asked him, whether he would conſent thereunto. Whereupon he demanded of *Clark*, whether Captain *Towerſon* knew of any ſuch matter. Which, *Clark* affirming; then he (the ſaid *Sharrock*) ſaid, that hee would do as the reſt did. Then the Fiſcall.

call asked him, what time the conſultation was held. He anſwered, In Nouember laſt. The Fiſcall ſaid, That could not bee: for, the conſultation was vpon New-yeers day. The priſoner ſaid as before in the beginning, that hee had not been in *Amboyna* ſince the firſt of December, till now that hee was brought thither. Why then, quoth the Fiſcall, haue you belyed your ſelf? Whereto the priſoner reſolutely anſwered, that all that hee had ſpoken touching any treaſon, was falſe, and fained onely to auoid torment. Then went the Fiſcall out into another roome to the Gouernor, and anon returned, and ſent *Sharrock* vnto the priſon againe. The next day hee was called againe, and a writing preſented him; wherein was framed a formall confeſſion of his laſt conference with *Clark* at Hitto, touching the plot to take the Caſtle of *Amboyna*: which being read-ouer to him, the Fiſcall asked him, whether it were true, or no. He anſwered, No. Why then, ſaid the Fiſcall, did you confeſſe it? He anſwered, For feare of torment. The Fiſcall and the reſt in a great rage told him he lyed; his mouth had ſpoken it, and it was true, and therefore he ſhould ſubſcribe it. Which as ſoone as he had done, hee fell preſently into a great paſſion, charging them bitterly to be guilty of the innocent blood of himſelf and the reſt, which they ſhould look to anſwer for at the Day of Iudgement: withall he grappled with the Fiſcall, and would haue ſtopped him from carrying-in the confeſſion to the Gouernor, with whom he alſo craued to ſpeak; but was inſtantly laid hold on, and carryed away to priſon.

William Webber examined.

William Webber, being next examined, was told by the Fiſcall, that *Iohn Clark* had confeſſed him to haue

been at *Amboyna* on New-yeers day, and sworne to Captaine *Towerson*'s plot, &c. All which he denied, alleaging, hee was that day at Larica: yet, beeing brought to the torture, hee then confessed, hee had bin at the consultation at *Amboyna* vpon New-yeers day, with all the rest of the circumstances in order as he was asked. He also further told them, hee had receiued a letter from *Iohn Clark*; after which was a Postscript, excusing his brief writing at that time, for that there was great businesse in hand. But one *Renier* a Dutch Merchant, then standing by, told the Gouernor, that vpon New-yeers day, the time of this pretended consultation, *Webber* and hee were merry at Larica. So the Gouernor left him, and went out. But the Fiscall held on vpon the other point, touching the Postscript of *Clark* s Letter, vrging him to shew the same. Which when hee could not doe, though often terrified with the torture, he gaue him respite; promising to saue his life, if hee would produce that Letter.

Gabriel Towerson examined.

Then was Captaine *Towerson* brought to the examination, and shewed what others had confessed of him. Hee deeply protesting his innocencie, *Samuel Colson* was brought to confront him: who beeing told, that vnlesse hee would now make good his former confession against Captaine *Towerson*, he should to the torture; coldly re-affirmed the same, and so was sent away. They also brought *William Grigs* and *Iohn Fardo* to iustifie their former confessions to his face. Captain *Towerson* seriously charged them, that as they would answer it at the dreadful day of Iudgement, they should speak nothing but the truth. Both of them instantly fell downe vpon their knees before him;

him; praying him for God's ſake to forgiue them, and ſaying further openly before them all, that whatſoeuer they had formerly confeſſed, was moſt falſe, and ſpoken onely to auoid torment. With that, the Fiſcall and the reſt offred them againe to the torture: which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former confeſsions to be true.

When *Colſon* (who had accuſed Captain *Towerſon* before) was required to ſet his hand to his confeſsion, he asked the Fiſcall, vpon whoſe head he thought the ſinne would lie; whether vpon his that was conſtrained to confeſſe what was falſe, or vpon the conſtrainers. The Fiſcall, after a little pauſe vpon this queſtion, went in to the Gouernor then in another room; but anon returning, told *Colſon* hee muſt ſubſcribe it: which he did; yet withall made this proteſtation: Well, quoth he, you make mee to accuſe my ſelfe and others, of that which is as falſe as GOD is true: for, God is my witnes, I am as innocent as the childe new borne.

Thus haue they examined all that belong to the Engliſh Companie in the ſeuerall Factories of the Iland of *Amboyna*.

The one and twentith of February, they examined *Iohn Wetherall*, Factor at Cambello in the Iſland of Seran. He confeſſed, he was at *Amboyna* vpon New-yeers day: but for the conſultation, whereof he was demanded; he ſaid he knew of no other, but touching certain cloth of the Engliſh Company, that lay in the Factories rotting and worm-eaten; which they aduiſed together how to put off to the beſt auail of their Imployers. The Gouernor ſaid, they queſtioned him not about cloth, but of treaſon: whereof when hee *Io. Wetherall examined.*

had

had proteſted his innocency, hee was for that time diſmiſſed. But the next day he was ſent for again, and Captaine *Towerſon* brought to confront and accuſe him, hauing before (it ſeemes) confeſſed ſomewhat againſt him. But M. *Towerſon* ſpake now theſe words onely: Oh, M. *Wetherall*, M. *Wetherall*, ſpeak the truth, and nothing but the truth, as God ſhall put into your heart. So Captaine *Towerſon* was put out againe, and *Wetherall* brought to the torture of water; with great threats, if water would not make him confeſſe, fire ſhould. He prayed them to tell him what hee ſhould ſay, or to write downe what they would; hee would ſubſcribe it. They ſaid, hee needed no Tutor; they would make him confeſſe of himſelf. But when they had triced him vp foure ſeuerall times, and ſaw hee knew not what to ſay, then they read him other mens confeſſions, and asked him from point to point, as they had done others: and he ſtill anſwered, Yea to all.

Iohn Powle examined.

Next was called in *Iohn Powle*, *Wetherals* Aſſiſtant at Cambello: but he, prouing that he was not at *Amboyna* ſince Nouember (ſaue now when hee was brought thither priſoner), and being ſpoken-for by one *Iohn Iooſt*, who had long beene well acquainted with him, was diſmiſſed without torture.

Thomas Ladbrook examined.

Then was *Thomas Ladbrook*, ſeruant to *Wetherall* and *Powle* at Cambello, brought to bee examined: but prouing that hee was at Cambello at the time of the pretended conſultation, and ſeruing in ſuch quality, as that he was neuer acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Amboyna*, hee was eaſily and quickly diſmiſſed.

Ephraim Kamſey was alſo examined vpon the whole preten-

pretended conſpiracy, and particularly queſtioned concerning Captaine *Welden* the Engliſh Agent in Banda: but denying all, and prouing that he was not at *Amboyna* at New-yeers tide, being alſo ſpoken-for by *Iohn Iooſt*, was diſmiſſed, after hee had hanged in the Rack a good while, with the Irons vpon his legs, and the cloth about his mouth. *Ephraim Ramſey examined.*

Laſtly, *Iohn Saddler*, ſeruant to *William Grigs* at Larica, was examined; and beeing found to haue been abſent from *Amboyna* at New-yeers tide, when *Grigs* and others were there, was diſmiſſed. *Iohn Saddler examined.*

Thus haue we all their examinations, tortures, and confeſſions, being the work of eight daies, from the fifteenth vnto the three and twentith of February. After which, was two daies reſpite before the Sentence. *Iohn Powle*, being himſelf acquitted as beforeſaid, went to the priſon to viſit *Iohn Fardo*, one of thoſe that had accuſed Captaine *Towerſon*. To him *Fardo* religiouſly proteſted his innocencie; but eſpecially his ſorrow for accuſing M. *Towerſon*: for, ſaid he, the feare of death doth nothing diſmay me; for, God (I truſt) will be mercifull to my ſoule, according to the innocency of my cauſe. The onely matter that troubleth me, is, that through feare of torment I haue accuſed that honeſt and godly man Captaine *Towerſon*, who (I think in my conſcience) was ſo vpright and honeſt towards all men, that he harboured no ill will to any, much leſſe would attempt any ſuch buſineſſe as he is accuſed of. Hee further ſaid, hee would before his death receiue the Sacrament, in acknowledgement that hee had accuſed Captaine *Towerſon* falſely and wrongfully, onely through feare of torment.

The fiue and twentith of February, old Stile, all the priſoners, aſwell the Engliſh as the Portugall and the Iapons, were brought into the great Hall of the Caſtle, and there were ſolemnly condemned, except *Ioohn Powle*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *Iohn Saddler*, and *Thomas Ladbrook*, formerly acquitted, as aforeſaid.

Captain *Towerſon* hauing been (during all his impriſonment) kept apart from the reſt, ſo that none of them could come to ſpeake with him; writ much in his chamber (as ſome of the Dutch report), but all was ſurpreſſed, ſaue onely a Bill of debt, which one *Th. Iohnſon* a free Burgher got of him by fauour of his keepers, for acknowledgement, that the Engliſh Company owed him a certaine ſumme of money. In the end of this Bill hee writ theſe words: *Firmed by the Firme of mee* Gabriel Towerſon *now appointed to die, guiltleſſe of any thing that can be iuſtly laid to my charge. God forgiue them their guilt, and receiue me to his mercy. Amen.* This Bill being brought to M. *Welden* the Engliſh Agent at Banda, he paid the money, and receiued in the acknowledgement.

William Grigs (who had before accuſed Captaine *Towerſon*) writ theſe words following in his Table-book: *We, whoſe names are heer ſpecified*; Iohn Beomont, *Merchant of Loho*, William Grigs, *Merchant of Larica*, Abel Price, *Chirurgion of* Amboyna, Robert Browne, *Tailor, which doe heer lie priſoners in the ſhip* Rotterdam, *being apprehended for conſpiracie, for blowing vp the Caſtle of* Amboyna: *we being iudged to death this fift of March*, Anno 1622. *which wee through torment was conſtrained to ſpeake; that which we neuer meant, nor once imagined; the which wee take vpon our deaths & ſaluation, they tortured vs with that*

ex-

extreme torment of fire and water, that fleſh and blood could not endure: and this we take vpon our deaths, that they haue put vs to death guiltleſſe of our accuſation. So therefore we deſire, they that ſhall vnderſtand this; that our Imployers may vnderſtand theſe wrongs, and that your ſelues would haue a care to looke to your ſelues: for their intēt was to haue brought you in alſo: they askt concerning you; which if they had tortured vs, we muſt haue confeſſed you alſo. And ſo farewell; written in the dark.

This Table-booke was afterwards deliuered to M. *Welden* aforenamed, by one that ſerued the Dutch.

Samuel Colſon alſo, another that accuſed Captaine *Towerſon*, writ as followeth in the waſte leaues of a booke, wherein were bound together the Common Prayers, the Pſalmes, and the Catechiſme.

In one page thus;

March. 5. *ſtilo nouo*, being Sunday, aboard the *Rotterdam*, lying in Irons:

VNderſtand that I Samuel Colſon, *late Factor of Hitto, was apprehended for ſuſpicion of conſpiracy; and for any thing I know, muſt die for it: wherefore, hauing no better meanes to make my innocency knowne, haue writ this in this booke, hoping ſome good Engliſhman will ſee it. I doe here vpon my ſaluation, as I hope by his death and paſſion to haue redemption for my ſinnes, that I am cleere of all ſuch conſpiracy; neither do I know any Engliſhman guilty thereof, nor other creature in the world. As this is true: God bleſſe me.*

Samuel Colſon.

On the other ſide, vpon the firſt page of the Catechiſme, is thus written:

IN another leafe you ſhall vnderſtand more, which I haue written in this booke. Samuel Colſon.

In the beginning of the Pſalms, and in the leaf ſo referred vnto, is thus written, *viz.*

THE Iapons were taken with ſome villanie, and brought to examination: beeing moſt tyrannouſly tortur'd, were asked if the Engliſh had any hand in their plot. Which torture made them ſay, Yea. Then was Maſter Tomſon, *M.* Iohnſon, *M.* Collins, Iohn Clark *brought to examination, and were burned vnder the armes, armepits, the hands, and ſoles of the feete, with another moſt miſerable torment to drinke water; ſome of them almoſt tortured to death, and were forced to confeſſe that which they neuer knew, by reaſon of the torment which fleſh and blood is not able to endure. Then were the reſt of the Engliſhmen called one by one (amongſt which I was one) being willed to confeſſe, or elſe I muſt goe to torment; withall cauſed M.* Iohnſon, *who was before tormented, to witneſſe againſt me, or elſe he ſhould be tormented againe; which rather than he would endure, he ſaid, what they would haue, he would ſpeake. Then muſt I confeſſe that I neuer knew, or elſe to goe to torment; which rather than I would ſuffer, I did confeſſe that, which (as I ſhall be ſaued before God Almighty) is not true; being forced for feare of torment. Then did they make vs witneſſe againſt Captain* Towerſon, *and at laſt made Captaine* Towerſon *confeſſe: all being for feare of moſt cruell torment; for which wee muſt all dye. As I meane and hope to haue pardon for my ſinnes, I know no more than the childe vnborne of this buſineſſe. Written with my owne hand the fift of March,* ſtilo nouo.

Samuel Colſon.

Yet in another page were theſe words:

I was

I was born in New-caſtle vpon Tyne; where I deſire this book may come, that my friends may know of my innocencie.

Samuel Colſon.

This Book he deliuered to one that ſerued the Hollanders; who ſowed it vp in his bed, and afterward, at his oportunity, deliuered it to M. *Welden* beforenamed.

All theſe ſaid Writings are yet extant vnder the hands of the ſeuerall parties, well knowne to their friends heer in England.

The ſix and twentith of February, *ſtilo veteri*, the priſoners were all brought into the great Hall of the Caſtle (except Captain *Towerſon* and *Emanuel Tomſon*) to be prepared for death by the Miniſters. The Iapons now all in generall, as ſome of them had done before in particular, cried out to the Engliſh, ſaying; O you Engliſhmen, where did wee euer in our liues eat with you, talk with you, or (to our remembrance) ſee you? The Engliſh anſwered, Why then haue you accuſed vs? The poore men, perceiuing they were made beleeue each had accuſed others, before they had ſo done indeed; ſhewed them their tortured bodies, and ſaid, If a ſtone were thus burnt, would it not change his nature? how much more we that are fleſh and blood!

Whilſt they were all in the Hall, Captaine *Towerſon* was brought vp into the place of examination, and two great Iarrs of water carried after him. What hee there did or ſuffered, was vnknowne to the Engliſh without: but it ſeemeth, they made him then to vnder-write his confeſſion. After ſupper, *Iohn Powle*,

Ephraim Ramſey, *Thomas Ladbrook*, and *Iohn Saddler*, who were found not-guilty, as aforeſaid, were taken from the reſt, and put into another roome. By and by alſo were *Samuel Colſon* & *Edward Collins* brought from the reſt, into the room where *Emanuel Tomſon* lay. The Fiſcall told them, it was the Gouernors mercy, to ſaue one of them three: and it being indifferent to him, which of them were the man, it was his pleaſure they ſhould draw lots for it. which they did, and the free lot fell to *Edward Collins*; who then was carried away to the chamber, where *Iohn Powle* and the reſt that were quit, lodged: and *Samuel Colſon* back into the Hall. Anon alſo *Iohn Beomont* was brought out of the Hall, into the chamber where *Iohn Powle*, & the reſt of the acquitted perſons were, and was told, that he was beholding to *Peter Iohnſon* the Dutch Merchant of Loho, and to the Secretarie; for they two had begged his life.

So then there remained in the Hall ten of the Engliſh; for Captaine *Towerſon* and *Emanuel Tomſon* (as is ſaid before) were kept in ſeueral rooms apart from the reſt. To theſe that remained in the Hall, came the Dutch Miniſters, who telling them how ſhort a time they had to liue, admoniſhed and exhorted them to make their true confeſſions; for it was a dangerous and deſperate thing, to diſſemble at ſuch a time. The Engliſh ſtill profeſſed their innocency, and prayed the Miniſters, that they might all receiue the Sacrament, as a ſeale of the forgiueneſſe of their ſinnes; and withall, thereby to confirme their laſt profeſſion of their innocencie. But this would by no meanes be granted. Whereupon *Samuel Colſon* ſaid thus vnto the Miniſters; You manifeſt vnto vs the danger

of

of diſſimnlation in this caſe. But tell vs; if we ſuffer guiltleſſe, being otherwiſe alſo true beleeuers in Chriſt Ieſus, What ſhall be our reward? The Preacher anſwered, By how much the cleerer you are, ſo much the more glorious ſhall bee your reſurrection. With that word, *Colſon* ſtarted vp, imbraced the Preacher, and gaue him his purſe, with ſuch money as hee had in it, ſaying; *Domine*, God bleſſe you: Tell the Gouernour, I freely forgiue him; and I intreat you, to exhort him to repent him of this bloody tragedy, wrought vpon vs poore innocent ſoules. Here all the reſt of the Engliſh ſignified their conſent to this ſpeech. Then ſpake *Iohn Fardo* to the reſt, in preſence of the Miniſters, as followeth: My countrey-men and brethren, that are heere with mee condemned to dye, I charge you all, as you will anſwer it at Gods iudgement ſeat, if any of you bee guilty of this matter, whereof we are condemned, diſcharge your conſciences, and confeſſe the truth for ſatisfaction of the world. Hereupon *Samuel Colſon* ſpake with a loude voyce, ſaying, According to my innocency in this Treaſon, ſo LORD pardon all my ſinnes: and if I be guiltie thereof more or leſſe, let me neuer be partaker of thy heauenly ioyes. At which words, euery one of the reſt cryed out, Amen for me, Amen for me, good Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accuſed, went one to another, begging forgiueneſſe for their falſe accuſation, being wrung from them by the paines or feare of torture. And they all freely forgaue one another: for none had beene ſo falſely accuſed, but he himſelfe had accuſed another as falſely. In particular, *George Sharrock* (who ſuruiued to relate this nights paſſage) kneeled

led down to *Iohn Clark*, whom he had accuſed of the tale at Hitto aboue-mentioned, and craued forgiuenes at his hands. *Clark* freely forgaue him; ſaying, How ſhould I look to be forgiuen of God, if I ſhould not forgiue you, hauing my ſelfe ſo falſely accuſed Captain *Towerſon* and others?

After this, they ſpent the reſt of the dolefull night in Prayer, ſinging of Pſalmes, and comforting one another; though the Dutch that guarded them, offered them wine, bidding them drink *Luſtick*, and driue away their ſorrow; according to the cuſtom of their owne Nation in the like caſe, but contrary to the nature of the Engliſh.

Upon the morrow-morning, being the execution-day, the 27. of February, *ſtilo veteri*, *Iohn Powle* being freed (as is aboue-recited) came into the room where the condemned perſons were, and found them at Prayer. They all requeſted him to relate vnto their friends in England the innocency of their cauſe; taking it vpon their deaths, that what they had confeſſed againſt themſelues & others, touching this crime, was all falſe, and forced by feare of torture.

The ſame morning, *William Webber* was called again into the Fiſcals room, and there preſſed to produce the letter, which hee had before confeſſed to haue receiued from *Iohn Clark*, in the *Poſtſcript* whereof ſome great buſineſſe was intimated. They promiſed him his life, if he would deliuer or produce them that Letter: which although hee did not, nor indeed could, yet at laſt they pardoned him, and ſent him to the reſt that were ſaued, and *Sharrock* with him.

That morning, *Emanuel Tomſon*, vnderſtanding that *Iohn Beomont* was pardoned, made means to haue him

him come and ſpeak with him; which, with much a-doe, hee obtained. *Beomont* found him ſitting in a chamber, all alone, in a moſt miſerable faſhion; the wounds of his torture bound vp, but the matter and gore-blood iſſuing thorow the Rollers. Hee tooke M. *Beomont* by the hand, and prayed him, when hee came into England, to doe his duetie to the honourable Companie his Maſters, to M. *Robinſon*, and to his brother *Billingſley*, and to certifie them of his innocencie, which (ſaid hee) you your ſelf knowe well enough.

All things beeing prepared for the execution, the condemned were brought forth of the Hall, a-long by the chamber where the quit and pardoned were; who ſtood in the dore, to giue and take the farewell of their countrey-men now going to execution. Staying a little for this purpoſe, they prayed and charged thoſe that were ſaued, to bear witneſſe to their friends in England of their innocency, and that they died not traitors, but ſo many Innocents meerly murdered by the Hollanders; whom they prayed God to forgiue their blood-thirſtineſſe, and to haue mercy vpon their owne ſoules.

Beeing brought into the Yard, their Sentence was there read vnto them from a Gallery: and then they were thence caried vnto the place of execution, together with nine Iapons, and a Portugall; not the ordinary and ſhort way, but round about, in a long Proceſsion, thorow the Towne: the way guarded with fiue Companies of Souldiers, Dutch & Amboyners, and thronged with the Natiues of the Iſland, that (vpon the Summons giuen the day before by the ſound of the Drum) flocked together to behold this

triumph of the Dutch ouer the Engliſh. *Samuel Colſon* had conceiued a prayer in writing, in the end whereof he proteſted his innocencie: which prayer hee read to his fellows the night before; and now alſo at the place of execution deuoutely pronounced the ſame; then threw away the paper: which the Gouernor cauſed to bee brought vnto him, and kept it.

Emanuel Tomſon told the reſt, he did not doubt but God would ſhew ſome ſigne of their innocencie; and euery one of the reſt tooke it ſeuerally vpon their death, that they were vtterly guiltleſſe: and ſo, one by one, with great cheerfulneſſe, they ſuffred the fatall ſtroke.

The Portugall praied ouer his Beads very deuoutly, and often kiſſed the Croſſe; ſwearing thereupon, that he was vtterly innocent of this treaſon; yet confeſſed, that God had juſtly brought this puniſhment vpon him, for that, hauing a wife in his owne Countrey, he had, by the perſwaſion of the Dutch Gouernor, taken another in that Countrey, his firſt beeing yet liuing.

The Iapons likewiſe (according to their Religion) ſhut vp their laſt Act with the like profeſſion of their innocencie. So there ſuffered ten Engliſhmen, viz. Captaine *Gabriel Towerſon*, the Agent of the Engliſh at *Amboyna*; *Samuel Colſon*, Factor at Hitto; *Emanuel Tomſon*, Aſſiſtant at *Amboyna*; *Timothy Johnſon*, Aſſiſtant there alſo; *John Wetherall*, Factor at Cambello; *John Clarke*, Aſsiſtant at Hitto; *William Grigges*, Factor at Larica; *John Fardo*, Steward of the houſe; *Abel Price*, Chirurgion; and *Robert Browne*, Tailor.

The

The Portugall alſo ſuffered with them. His name was *Auguſtine Perez.* He was borne at Bengala.

The names of the Iaponeſes that ſuffered (if any be curious to know them) were as followeth:

Hitieſo, *Tſioſa*, *Sinſa.* } all borne at Firando.

Sidney Migiel, *Pedro Congie*, *Thome Corea.* } borne at Nangaſacque.

Quiondayo natiue of Coraets.

Tſabinda of Tſouckergo.

Zanchoe of Fiſien.

Beſides theſe, there were two other Iaponeſes; the one named *Soyſimo*, borne at Firando; and the other *Sacoube*, of the ſame place: the former of which being tortured, confeſſed both to haue beene priuie to this pretended treaſon, and to haue offered his ſeruice vnto the Engliſh, to ayde them in taking of the Caſtle: and the latter confeſſed to haue had knowledge of the conſultation of the other Iapons to this purpoſe. But neyther of them was executed, nor ſo much as condemned. The reaſon whereof was not knowne to the Engliſh that were ſaued.

They had prepared a cloth of blacke Veluet for Captaine *Towerſon*'s bodie to fall vpon; which being ſtayned and defaced with his blood, they afterwards put to the account of the Engliſh Companie.

At the inſtant of the execution, there aroſe a great darkeneſſe, with a ſudden and violent guſt of winde and tempeſt; whereby two of the Dutch

Shippes, riding in the harbour, were driuen from their anchors, and with great labour and difficulty saued from the rockes. Within a few dayes after, one *William Dunckin*, who had told the Gouernour, That *Robert Browne*, the English Tailour, had a few moneths before told him, hee hoped, that within sixe moneths the English should haue as much to doe in the Castle of *Amboyna*, as the Dutch: This fellow, comming vpon an euening to the graue where the English were buried, beeing all (saue Captain *Towerson*) in one pit, fell down vpon the graue; and hauing lien there awhile, rose vp againe starke mad, and so continued two or three dayes together, and then died. Foorthwith also fell a new sickneſſe at *Amboyna*, which swept away about a thousand people, Dutch and Amboyners: in the space wherein, there vsually died not aboue thirty at other seasons. These signes were by the suruiuing English referred to the confident prediction of *Emanuel Tomson* aboue-named, and were by the Amboyners interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyranny of the Hollanders.

The next day after the execution, beeing the eight and twentith of February, *Stilo veteri*, was spent in triumph for the new General of the Dutch then proclaimed, and in publick rejoycing for the deliuerance from this pretended treason. The day following, being the first of March, *Iohn Beomont*, *George Sharrock*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Gouernor; who told *Webber*, *Beomont* and *Sharrock*, that they were pardoned in honour of the new Ge-

Generall; and *Collins*, that he was to go to Iaccatra, there to ſtand to the fauour of the Generall. So the Gouernor made them drink wine with him, and curteouſly diſmiſſed them; willing them to go and conſult with the reſt that were ſaued, who were fit to bee placed in the ſeuerall Factories. Which done, and their opinions reported to the Gouernor, hee accordingly commanded each to his place; adding, that he would thenceforth take vpon him the patronage and gouernment of the Engliſh Companies buſineſſe. To which purpoſe, he had within a few daies paſt opened a Letter that came from the Engliſh Preſident at Iaccatra, directed to Captaine *Towerſon*; beeing (as hee ſaid) the firſt Engliſh Letter that euer he intercepted; further ſaying, that he was glad that he found by that Letter, that the Engliſh at Iaccatra were innocent touching this buſineſſe.

The Gouernor and Fiſcall, hauing thus made an end at *Amboyna*, diſpatched themſelues for Banda: where they made very diligent enquiry againſt Captaine *Welden*, the Engliſh Agent there, yet found no colour nor ſhadow of guilt to lay hold on; but at laſt entertained him with courteous ſpeeches, profeſſing to bee very glad, that they found him, as well as the Engliſh at Iaccatra, to bee without ſuſpicion of this treaſon (as they tearm it). Captaine *Welden*, perceiuing the diſorder and confuſion of the Engliſh Companies affaires at *Amboyna*, by means of this dealing of the Dutch; forthwith hired a Dutch Pinace at Banda, and paſſed to *Amboyna*: where, inſtantly vpon his arruall, he re-called the Companies ſeruants, ſent (as before) by the Dutch Gouernor to the vnder-Factories.

Hauing enquired of them, & the reſt that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole proceeding lately paſſed, hee found, by the conſtant and agreeing relation of them all, that there was no ſuch treaſon of the Engliſh as was pretended: as alſo hee vnderſtood, what ſtrict command the Gouernor had giuen to the ſuruiuing Engliſh, not once to talke or conferre with the Countrey-people concerning this bloody buſineſſe, although the ſaid Country-people euery day reproched them with treaſon, and a bloody intention to haue maſſacred the natiues, and to haue ripped vp the bellies of women with childe, and ſuch like ſtuffe; wherewith the Dutch haue poſſeſſed the poore Vulgar, to make the Engliſh odious vnto them. The ſaid M. *Welden* therfore finding it to ſort neither with the honour nor profit of the Engliſh Company, his Maſters, to hold any longer reſidence in *Amboyna*, hee took this poore remnant of the Engliſh a-long with him, in the ſaid hired Pinace, for Iaccatra; whither the Gouernor had ſent *Iohn Beomont* and *Edward Collins* before, as men condemned, and left to the mercy of the Generall.

When this heauy newes of *Amboyna* came to Iaccatra and the Engliſh there, the Preſident forthwith ſent to the Generall of the Dutch, to knowe by what authority the Gouernor at *Amboyna* had thus proceeded againſt the Engliſh, and how he, & the reſt of the Dutch there at Iaccatra, did approoue theſe proceedings. The Generall returned for anſwer, that, The Gouernor of *Amboyna*'s authority was deriued from that of the Lords States Generall of the Vnited Netherlands; vnder whom hee had lawfull juriſdiction both in criminall and ciuill cauſes, within the diſtrict

of

of *Amboyna*. Further, that ſuch proceeding was neceſſary againſt traitors, ſuch as the Engliſh, executed at *Amboyna*, might appeare to be by their owne confeſſions: a copy whereof hee therewith ſent to the Engliſh Preſident; who ſent the ſame back to be authentickly certified, but receiued it not again.

Hitherto hath been recited the bare & naked narration of the progreſſe and paſſage of this action, as it is taken out of the depoſitions of ſix ſeuerall Engliſh Factors: whereof foure were condemned, and the other two acquitted, in this Proceſſe of *Amboyna*; all, ſince their return into England, examined vpon their othes in the Admiralty Court. The particular of Captain *Towerſon*'s, as alſo of *Emanuel Tomſon*'s examinations and anſwers, are not yet come to light, by reaſon that theſe two were kept apart from all the reſt, and each alone by himſelf; nor any other of the Engliſh ſuffred to come and ſpeak with them, except onely that ſhort Farewell which *John Beomont* tooke of *Tomſon* the morning before the execution aforementioned. The like obſcurity is yet touching the examinations and anſwers of diuerſe of the reſt that were executed; beeing, during their impriſonment, ſo ſtrictly lookt-to and watched by the Dutch, that they might not talke together, nor mutually relate their miſeries.

But becauſe the Hollanders defend their own proceedings by the confeſſions of the parties executed, acknowledging ſeuerally vnder their hands, that they were guilty of the pretended crime; it will not be amiſſe to recollect and recall vnto this place, as it were vnto one ſumme and totall, certain circumſtances diſperſed in ſeuerall parts of this narration; whereby as well

well the innocencie of the Engliſh, as the vnlawfull proceedings againſt them, may be manifeſted.

Firſt therefore it is to be remembred, that the Iapons were apprehended, examined, & tortured three or foure daies, before the Engliſh were attached; and the fame aſwell of their apprehenſion, as torture, was rife and notorious in the Town of *Amboyna*, and the parts adioyning. *Tomſom* in this *interim*, and the very firſt day of the examination of the Iapon, went to the Caſtle to aſk leaue of the Gouernor to land ſome Rice, and brought backe the newes with him to the Engliſh houſe of the cruell handling of theſe poore Iapons. This had been *Item* enough to the Engliſh, if they had been guilty, to ſhift for themſelues: whereto alſo they had ready means by the Curricurries or ſmall Boats of the Amboyners, which lie along the Straid in great number, wherwith they might eaſily haue tranſported themſelues to Seran, to Bottoon, or to Maccaſſar, out of the reach and iuriſdiction of the Dutch: but in that they fled not in this caſe, it is a very ſtrong preſumption, that they were as little priuie to any treaſon of their owne, as ſuſpicious of any treacherous traine laid for their bloods.

In the next place let it be conſidered, how impoſſible it was for the Engliſh to atchieue this pretended enterpriſe.

The Caſtle of *Amboyna* is of a very great ſtrength (as is before declared); the Garriſon therein two or three hundred men, beſides as many moe of their free Burgers in the Towne. What their care and circumſpection in all their Forts is, may appeare not only by the quick Alarum they now took at the fooliſh queſtion of the poore Iapon, made to the Sentinell a-

boue-

boue-receited; but alſo by that which a little before hapned at Iaccatra, where one of their ſouldiers was ſhot to death for ſleeping in the Watch.

Durſt ten Engliſhmen (whereof not one a ſouldier) attempt any thing vpon ſuch a ſtrength & vigilancy? As for the aſſiſtance of the Iapons, they were but ten neither, and all vnarmed aſwell as the Engliſh. For, as at the ſeizure of the Engliſh houſe, all the prouiſion therein found was but three ſwords, two muskets, and halfe a pound of powder: ſo the Iapons (except when they are in ſeruice of the Caſtle, and there armed by the Dutch) are allowed to haue no Armes, but onely a Catanne, a kinde of ſhort ſword: and it is forbidden to all the Dutch, vpon great penalty, to ſell any hand-gun, powder or bullets, to the Iapons or Amboyners. But let it be imagined that theſe twentie perſons, Engliſh and Iapons, were ſo deſperate as to aduenture the exploit; how ſhould they be able to maſter the Dutch in the Caſtle, or to keep poſſeſſion when they had gotten it? what Seconds had they? There was neither Ship nor Pinace of the Engliſh in the harbour. All the reſt of the Iapons in the Iſland, were not twentie perſons, and not one Engliſh more. The neereſt of the reſt of the Engliſh, were at Banda, forty leagues from *Amboyna*; and thoſe but nine perſons, all afterwards cleered by the Gouernor and Fiſcall themſelues from all ſuſpicion of this pretended crime; as were alſo the reſt of the Engliſh at Iaccatra.

On the other ſide, beſides the ſtrength of the Caſtle and Town of *Amboyna*, the Hollanders haue three other ſtrong Caſtles, well furniſhed with Souldiers, in the ſame Iſland, and at Cambello neere adioyning. They had then alſo in the road of *Amboy-*

na eight Ships and veſſels, namely, the *Rotterdam* of 1200. tun, the *Vnicorne* of 300. tun, the Free-mans veſſell of 100. tun, the *Calck* of 60. tun, Captaine *Gamals Iunck* of 40. the *Flute* of 300. tun, the *Amſterdam* of 1400. tun, and a ſmall Pinace of about 60. tun; and all theſe well furniſhed with men and munition. It is true, that the Stories doe record ſundry valiant and hardy enterpriſes of the Engliſh Nation, and Holland is witneſſe of ſome of them, yea, hath reaped the fruit of the Engliſh reſolution; yet no Story, nor Legend ſcarcely reporteth any ſuch hardineſſe eyther of the Engliſh or others, That ſo few perſons, ſo naked of all prouiſions and ſupplyes, ſhould vndertake ſuch an aduenture vpon a counterpartie, ſo well and abundantly fitted at all points.

But let it be further granted, that they might poſſibly haue ouercome all theſe difficulties; yet to what end and purpoſe ſhould they put themſelues into ſuch a ieopardie? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both Companies at home, That the Forts in the Indies ſhould remaine reſpectiuely in the hands of ſuch as had poſſeſſion of them at the date of the Treatie, *Ann:* 1619. and that the ſame was ratified by the Kings Maieſtie, and the Lords States Generall. They knew likewiſe, and all the world takes knowledge, of his Maieſties religious obſeruation of peace and treatie with all his neighbours, yea, with all the world: what reward then could theſe Engliſh hope for, of this their valour and danger? Certainely none other than that which is expreſly prouided by the Treatie it ſelfe, that is, To be puniſhed as the diſturbers of the common peace and amitie of both Nations.

But

But let theſe Engliſh-men haue been as fooliſh in this plot as the Hollanders will haue them; is it alſo to be imagined, that they were ſo graceleſſe, as when they were condemned, and ſeriouſly admoniſhed by the Miniſters to diſcharge their conſciences, yet then to perſiſt in their diſſimulation, being otherwiſe of ſuchg odly behauiour, as to ſpend the time in Prayer, ſinging of Pſalmes, and ſpirituall comforting one another, which the Dutch would haue had them beſtow in drinking, to driue away their ſorrow? Let *Colſons* queſtion to the Miniſter be conſidered: his and the reſts offer and deſire to receiue the Sacrament in witnes of their innocencie; their mutual asking forgiuenes for their like falſe accuſations of one another, forced by the torture; *Tomſons* laſt farewell to *Beomont*; *Colſons* prayer, and his writing in his praier booke; *Fardo's* farewell to *Powle*; alſo his coniuring exhortation to his fellowes, to diſcharge their conſciences, and all their anſweres thereunto, crauiug Gods mercie or iudgement, according to their innocencie in this cauſe; their generall and religious profeſſion of their innocencie, to their countrey-men, at their laſt parting with them; & finally, the ſealing of this profeſſion with their laſt breath and blood, euen in the verie article of death, and in the ſtroke of the Executioner. What horrible and vnexampled diſſimulation were this? If ſome one or more of them had been ſo fearefully deſperate, yet would not there one amongſt ten be found to thinke of the iudgement to come; whereunto he was then inſtantly ſummoned without Eſſoine, Baile, or Mainpriſe? What? had they hope of reprieue & life, if they kept their countenance to the laſt? Yet what hope had *Tomſon* and

the reſt, when Capt. *Towerſons* head was off? Nay, what deſire had *Tomſon* and *Clarke* to liue, being ſo mangled and martyred by the torture? They were executed one by one, and euery one ſeuerally took it vpon his death, that he was guiltleſſe.

Now to blanch and ſmooth ouer all this rough and barbarous proceeding; it is here giuen out, that the Gouernor & Fiſcall found ſuch euidence of the plot, and dealt ſo euenly in the proceſſe, that they ſpared not their owne people; hauing vſed ſome of their natiue Hollanders, partakers of this treaſon, in the ſame manner as they did the Engliſh. But this, as well by the relation here truely and faithfully ſet downe, grounded vpon the ſworn teſtimonie of ſixe credible witneſſes, as alſo by other ſufficient reports of diuerſe (lately come out of thoſe parts) appeareth to bee a meere tale, not once alleaged by anie in the Indies in many moneths after the execution, but only inuented and diſperſed here, for a *Fucus* and falſe colour vpon the whole cauſe, and to make the world beleeue that the ground of this barbarous and tyrannous proceeding was a true crime, and not the vnſatiable couetouſneſſe of the Hollanders, by this cruell treacherie to gain the ſole Trade of the *Molluccos*, *Banda* and *Amboyna*; which is already become the euent of this bloody proceſſe.

To adde hereunto by way of aggrauation, will be needleſſe; the fact is ſo full of odious and barbarous inhumanitie, executed by Hollanders vpon the Engliſh Nation, in a place where both liued vnder termes of partnerſhip and great amitie, confirmed by a moſt ſolemne Treatie.

FINIS.

A TRVE

DECLARATION OF the News that came out of the East-Indies, *with the Pinace called the* HARE, which arriued in TEXEL, in Iune 1624.

CONCERNING

A Conſpiracy diſcouered in the Iland of *Amboyna*, and the puniſhment following thereupon, according to the courſe of juſtice, in *March* 1624. comprehended in a Letter miſſiue;

AND SENT

From a friend in the Low-Countries, to a friend of note in England, for information of him in the truth of thoſe paſſages.

Printed, *Anno* 1624.

Right worſhipfull and worthy Sir,

He great outcryes which haue beene made in England, *vpon the laſt newes which came out of the* East-Indies, *about a certayne execution which was done in the Iland of* Amboyna, *in* March, 1623. *becauſe we ſee the great deſire that your Worſhip hath, to keep good correſpondence betwixt theſe* two Nations, *it hath cauſed me (beyond my owne curioſity) to ſearch & inquire after the right & true beginnings, procedings, and iſſues of theſe affaires, vpon which this execution followed. Wherein, I perſwade my ſelfe, I haue attained good ſucceſſe, by ſuch meanes as I haue vſed, and by my good acquaintance, ſo that (at the laſt) I am come to the cleare light of the matter: partly by the letters that haue beene ſent home, to the* Company *here, and declared to the* States Generall, *as alſo by a particular examination of the proceſſe made againſt them in* Amboyna, *before their execution, and ſent ouer hither, in writing, which at this preſent hath cauſed mee to write this vnto your* Worſhip, *that ſo, the truth may bee made knowne concerning this buſines in all places, where your Worthynes, and reſpect, can, or may bring it to paſſe; that ſo your* Worſhip, *and all true well willers (of our Countrey,) may be no otherwiſe thought of than wee deſerue.*

THE very cauſes and beginnings through which, the *Gouernour*, and *Councell*, eſtabliſhed in the name of the Vnited *Netherlands* in *Amboyna*, came into ſuſpicion, that ſome thing was plotted againſt that Prouince; did firſt flow from the great licentiouſnes of the *Ternatanes* in *Moluque*, and *Amboyna*: Who, contrary to the contract of alliance, 1606. made with the High and Mighty Lords the States, attempted (without our conſent, and knowledge) to make peace with the King of *Tedore*; as alſo truce with the *Spaniards*, (their and our ancient aduerſaries) by which, the ſaid *Ternatanes* had too much caſt off all reſpect which they, both in regard of our confederacy, and manifold aſsiſtance, did owe to this State. The *Spaniard* alſo was maſter enough at ſea, in the *Moluque*, becauſe the *Engliſh Marchants* there, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, were vnwilling to furniſh vs with ſhips of warre, toward the common defence; as they were bound to doe, according to the treaties 1619. to the number of ten. Through which, the voyages to *Manillia*, comming to ceaſe, the enemy traded there, without any interruption, & procured power to ſend *Gallyes*, *Ships, and Pynaſſes* to the *Moluque*, with great ſuccours of people, and prouiſion; and that becauſe, againſt the ſame (through the default of the *Engliſh* Merchants) there were no Ships of warre kept, as there ſhould haue beene.

The ſubiects of the King of *Ternata*, begun to commit great inſolencies (otherwiſe than they were

A

B

C

D

were wont) against our Nation, hauing outrageously assaulted diuers of vs, diuers wayes, and also slayne some, and wee notwithstanding could not obtayne any punishment vpon them. And as one outrage (vnpunished) prouokes many moe, through hope of the like impunity, or other considerations; so likewise the sayd *Ternatans* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Loho*, *Cambello*, and those neere adioyning places, proceeded further, and haue armed themselues at Sea, and inuaded diuers Ilands, and places standing vnder the *Netherlands Gouernour* in *Amboyna*, spoyling them, and killing our subiects, and taking others, and carrying them away for slaues. And notwitstanding the instant request of the *Netherlands Gouernour*, no satisfaction, or iustice, hath followed; but the said *Ternatanes* are yet gone further, and openly threatned to murder the *Dutch Marchants*, and to spoyle and burne the *Logie*, or *Factory*, which our people haue many yeares there enioyed: so that our Merchants haue taken out the *Dutch* goods, to auoid damage: And the *Ternatanes* at *Loho* did actually set on fire, and ruined the said *Netherlands Factory*. In the *Manichells* (an Iland being vnder the Prouince of *Amboyna*) they haue in like manner, shortly after, burned the *Netherlands Logie*, with the losse of all the goods therein. The *Netherlands Gouernour*, that by his presence, and authority, hee might cause such rebellions to cease, and to giue order for time to come, and also to seeke satisfaction and punishment vpon the foresaid insolencies; went toward *Loho*, with a small power of sloopes: and comming there-about,

was

was mett (otherwiſe than was wont) by a nauy of ſloopes of the *Ternatanes* of *Loho*, ſtronger than his were. Theſe (by their conference) gaue him well to knowe, how little reuerence they gaue the *Dutch Gouernor* : they braued him, without hope of reſtitution of any thing to come : ſo that (nothing done) he was faine to returne to his Caſtle of *Amboyna*. By reaſon of theſe things, the ſayd *Ternatanes* became ſo ſtout and daring, that they gaue out openly, that they would come, and ſpoile our ſubiects by a generall army, with aboue a 100. *Friggets* : with theſe, they ſaid they would come againſt *Amboyna*, to make a vniuerſall ſpoile of our people ; Through which, there came a great feare vpon the *Indians*, ſtanding vnder the ſubiection of the High and Mighty Lords the States, as alſo ouer the *Netherlanders*.

In the Ilands lying farre Eaſtward of *Banda*, it was alſo ſaid, and the newes went currantly there, That the *Hollanders* were ſure enough quit of the Caſtle of *Amboyna* ; And at that time there were diuers ſecret correſpondencies betweene the *Indians*, and others, which gaue vs great ſuſpicion. By this meanes the *Netherlands Gonernour*, & Councell of *Amboyna*, were moued to haue ſpeciall regard, and looke narrowly vnto all things, ſeeing that it might bee thence clearly gathered, that ſomething might bee plotted againſt the State in *Amboyna*, and that the *Indians* (of themſelues) durſt not offer to vndertake any ſuch great deſigne , without ſome great helpe of ſome of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*, *Portugalls*, or ſome others ; and alſo they vnderſtood,

E

F

 that

that they of *Loho*, *Cambello*, &c. had great secret
G correspondence with the *English* Merchants. When
things were in such a state in *Amboyna*, there came
forth, and was wonderfully discouered, in February
1623. a horrible conspiracie, against the Castle, and
Person of the *Dutch Gournour*, and the whole state
of *Amboyna*: and first, by the apprehension of a cer-
taine *Iaponian* (a complice of the feate) who at an
vnseasonable time was often seene vpon the wall
of the Castle, where he also ouer-curiously enquired
of the most vnskilfull and sillyest souldiers, tou-
ching, the setting, and change of the *Watch*, and what
number of people might bee in the Castle, and many
other things. Whereupon, in the very act, the said
Iaponian was apprehended, and being examined of
many circumstances, hee confessed, that the *Iaponian*
souldiers, vnder our seruice, had decreed to make
themselues Masters of the Castle, and that they
should haue set vpon this by the helpe of the *En-*
glish, who had sollicited them vnto it; and that hee,
with all the other *Iaponians* in the *English* house, of-
tentimes within three moneths before-going, had
conferred with the *English* (whome he there named,
by their names) touching the manner, whereby they
should bring this treachery to passe. Hereupon it
came to passe, that all the Iaponian souldiers which
were in our seruice, were disarmed, and imprisoned,
and by examination of them all, it appeared playn-
ly, by an orderly and ioynt-confession, that all the
said Iaponians, vpon the intreaty of *Gabriel Tower-*
son, and other *English* Merchants, and Offeers, agreed
to assist the said English to betray the Castle, and to

giue

giue it ouer into the Engliſh Power; and that *Gabriel Towerſon*, and *Abel Price* (an Engliſh Chirurgion) and other Engliſh, dealt often with them, (whom hee named by their names) of the way and meanes, how they ſhould worke it; the ſaid *Abel Price* being before impriſoned for a foule and execrable fact, and yet remayning in durance.

And although it appeared ſufficiently to the Gouernour, and Councel of *Amboyna*, out of the confeſſion of the Iaponians, what the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* with his Merchants, and other complices, had before reſolued to do, and that the Councell had ſufficient information to impriſon them all; yet the *Generall Councell* would not precipitate, but commanded the ſaid *Abel Price*, (who was in priſon) to come before the Councell, and (after the places, perſons, and time nominated to him, where, and when hee had dealt with the *Iaponians*, and other Engliſh, about the ſaid treachery) it was alſo from him well vnderſtood, how hee (in the name, and by the command of *Gabriel Towerſon*) and another Iaponian, (who was then alſo in priſon) had perſwaded all the Iaponians to conſent to this villany, and that conſequently the ſaid *Towerſon*, as the *firſt Authour*, and all the other Engliſh Merchants, (being in the *Forraigne Cantore* of the Prouince of *Amboyna*) had alſo knowledge of the ſaid treachery.

Vpon this full and vniforme examination, and confeſſion of 12. perſons, as well of the 11. Iaponians, as one Engliſh, is the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* called to the Councell; and there appearing, the ſaid *Towerſon* called together all his people vnto the Caſtle, vpon

the requeſt of the *Generall Councell*, who were there taken, and impriſoned, except the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* himſelfe: to whom (vpon his requeſt) and in regard of his quality, being chiefe merchant in *Amboyna*, in the name of the *Engliſh Company*; his owne houſe was allotted him for his ſafe keeping, and forth comming. And the ſaid priſoners were all lawfully and orderly examined, and it appeared by them ioyntly, according to their owne confeſsion (euery one hauing vnderwritten it with his owne hand) as followeth.

H *Gabriel Towerſon*, about *New-yeares day* 1623. hauing with him almoſt all the *Engliſh* Merchants of the *Forraigne Cantore* in *Amboyna*, he aſſembled them in his chamber, and propounded to them, that he had ſomething of *great moment*, to impart vnto them, (which *hee alone* could not effect) vnder the fidelity of an *oath* to bee taken *before*, for the keeping ſecret thereof, and being truſty therein; ſaying, It is neceſſary ſo to bee; for if the thing ſhould come abroad, which I ſhall make knowne vnto you, it will coſt all our liues. Whereupon the holy *Goſpell* was produced; vpon which, euery one who was preſent, did ſweare ſecrecy and fidelity, as was required. Then *Towerſon* (after a *preface*) opened to the conſpirators, how hee had a way and meanes to make himſelf *Maſter* of the *Caſtle* of *Amboyna*. And wheras
I ſome preſent made it difficult to doe, being too weake for it: the ſaid *Towerſon* anſwered, That hee had already won to his purpoſe the *Iaponian* ſouldiers who were in the Caſtle, and that they ſhould execute his purpoſe when the *Dutch*, who were in the

the Caſtle, were in their greateſt weakeneſſe, and worſt prouided, or (*vnawares*) when the *Gouernour* ſhould bee abſent, about ſome exploit; and that they ſhould waite till ſome *Engliſh* ſhips, or ſhip, were in *Amboyna*, whoſe people hee might employ in this attempt; as alſo, when as all other the *Engliſh* Merchants, and ſlaues of the *Forraigne Cantore* in *Amboyna*, ſhould be ſent for to the Caſtle: And ſaid further, That hee knew how to get men enow, and they ſhould leaue this to his care, and themſelues do their beſt; and that they of *Loho* ſhould alſo come to helpe him with certaine *Curricurries, &c.* vpon which inducements, all that were preſent ſwore to aſsiſt *Towerſon* herein. And concerning the maner of execution, the ſaid *Towerſon* had preſcribed to the *Iaponians*, which were in the Caſtle, that they ſhould ſend to euery point of the Bulwarkes, two men, and the reſt in the court attend the *Gouernour*, and to murder him; and that at the ſigne which ſhould be giuen by the *Engliſh*, they ſhould make themſelues *Maſters* of euery point of the bulwarke, and kill all who ſhould reſiſt, and impriſon the reſt; and further ſhould take, and diuide betweene themſelues, and the *Iaponians*, the goods of the *Dutch Eaſt-India Company*, except a 1000. rialls of 8. which euery *Iaponian* ſhould haue before, and that they ſhould kill the citizens who would not conſent with them, and do them all the miſchiefe they could. And touching the time, hee had not yet certainely ſet it, but that there ſhould ſuddenly bee another aſſembly of the conſpirators, when *Gabriel Towerſon* would giue order for all things, and giue a ſigne to the *Ia-*

K

ponians, whereupon, when they ſhewed it, they ſhould begin the worke within.

L The ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* being asked in particular, what moued him to ſuch a wicked fact; hee anſwered, The deſire of *Honour* and *Profit*. Being further demanded, who ſhould enioy that Honour and Profit, and for whome hee would haue taken the Caſtle: he anſwered, That if he did obtaine his deſire, hee ſhould preſently haue aduertiſed thoſe of his Nation being in *Batauia*, and called for their helpe, who if they had ſent him ſuccour, hee would haue kept the Caſtle for his owne company (viz. for the *Engliſh Eaſt-Indian Company*) and if not, he would haue held it for himſelfe, and haue endeuoured a peace with the Indians, that ſo by the one meanes or the other, hee might attayne his purpoſe.

M After the examination of *Towerſon* was ended, the *Dutch Gouernour* in *Amboyna* vpbrayded *Towerſon* of his cruell intent, and asked, if this ſhould haue beene the recompence of the manifold honours, and kindneſſes hee had done vnto him. Whereto *Towerſon* anſwered with a deepe ſigh, *Oh*, if it were to bee begun, it ſhould not bee done. This voluntary confeſsion, and penitent acknowledgement, with much forrow, was made the 9. of March, being the day when the execution ſhould haue beene done; but the examination of *Towerſon* was ended the 18. of February, ſo many dayes before. This is the ſubſtance of the confeſsions of 10. Iaponians, of 14. Engliſh, and of 2 *Neatherlandiſh Merinho*, or *Captaine* of the *Slaues*; who all confirmed theſe their confeſsions with their owne hands.

What

What crime this intended prodition was, is hence very manifeſt, and vndoubted: what puniſhment is due to treachery, according to the law and cuſtomes of all nations, is alſo well knowne: no true Chriſtian man will patronage any ſuch horrible attempt, but will adiudge it worthy of death, as it was determined vpon the complices of this conſpiracy, according to order of iuſtice, as there in *Amboyna* it is exerciſed (according to deſert) by the Gouernour and Councell, in the name of the *High* and *Mighty Lords*, the *States*.

Here you haue (Sir) the very ſubſtance of the truth, both of the fact and puniſhment; other than which, many things are ſpread abroad in England, but vpon what pretence, or intendement, I know not; let the matter it ſelfe ſpeake for it ſelfe:

The firſt point, which is obiected againſt this iuſtice done in *Amboyna*, is concerning the proceedings; which are ſaid to bee holden without formality, and with extreamity, againſt theſe conſpirators: Your Worſhip (and each reaſonable man) knoweth, that euery land hath their lawes, and ordinances, and their particular manner of proceedings, as well in Ciuill as in Criminall cauſes. *England* hath hers. *France, Spaine, Dutchland, Netherland,* and all other *Kingdomes* and *Gouernments* haue alſo theirs, which are iuſt & lawfull to euery one in their dominion; ſo that, when any man will iudge of the equity or iniuſtice of a proceeding vſed in any land, he muſt examine the ſame according to the lawes and cuſtomes of that Kingdom or dominion, where the iuſtice and proceedings were holden. Theſe proceedings. *Obiect.* 1.

dings were holden by the *Netherlandiſh Gouernor*, in the name of the illuſtrious *Lords the States*, hauing ſupreame power, many yeares ſince in the *Yles* of *Amboyna*, which were conquered (in the name of the ſaid *Lords* the *States*) from the *Spaniards*, or *Portugalls*, who held that Caſtle in the name of the King of *Spaine*, our hereditary enemy ; therefore they are now poſſeſſed in the name of the *Lords* the *States*, and are vnder their dominion, by a iuſt and lawfull title of warre, according to the law of *Nations*. There (among other things) iuſtice is adminiſtred according to the lawes of the *Netherlands*, in that manner as was vſed in the proceedings againſt theſe conſpirators. I know that the lawes of *England* are diuers from ours in *criminall* caſes, yea, & from all the Nations in *Europe*: howbeit therefore, no man hath any ground of reaſon to ſay, that the proceedings of the *Engliſh Iudges* (holden in *England*) againſt delinquents, are not legitimate, though the ſaid *Engliſh* proceedings doe vary in the manner from the proceedings of *France*, *Spayne* &c. where other cuſtomes are: for that is lawful, which agreeth with the lawes of that land where the fact is committed. Now then the *Iaponian* ſouldiers, being in the ſeruice of the *Netherlands* Company in *Amboyna*, are diſcouered to haue conſpired againſt the Caſtle and the *Gouernment* there, vnder whoſe oath & pay they were; they were apprehended, and examined, and conuicted of the ſaid conſpiracy. This proceeding is lawfull, and toucheth no man, becauſe the ſaid *Iaponians* knew no other *Maſter* than the *Netherlanders*, vnder whoſe oath, ſeruice, and pay they ſtand.

All

All these *Iaponian* conspirators with the said *Merincho*, a *Captayne* of the *Netherlands* Slaues, confessed with one mouth, that they were moued and induced to this conspiracy, by the *English* Merchants resident in *Amboyna*, whose names they named. Now, not only the right of *Netherland*, but of *England*, and of the whole world requireth, that the authors, abettors & complices of murther and treason, should bee punished with death; whereto, according to the common lawes, as also the particular lawes of euery Kingdome or Dominion, the suspected persons first, and before all, should bee imprisoned, not only for preuenting the effect of their euill purpose, but that they might also receiue their deserued punishment: which apprehensious, could not (*in that place*) bee done by any other man, than by the command of the *Netherlands Gouernor*, to whom it belongeth to take care, to see euery act concerning supreame power, to be there obserued; & specially (al other reasons ceasing) the higheſt *English Officers* there, could not apprehend these *English* conspirators, because all the chiefe of the *English* Merchants in *Amboyna* were themselues of the conspiracy, and complices of the fact, vpon which the apprehension was made. Therefore the apprehension of the *English* complices, must bee done by the *Dutch Gouernour*, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the custome of all Nations of the world. And that these apprehensions may bee holden more lawfull, it appeareth out of the written processe, that the said *English* complices were not imprisoned vpon the first suspitions and grosse euidences, which

were had againſt them, but then at laſt, when all the *Iaponian* ſouldiers were taken, examined, and conuicted, and had diſcouered by the vniforme confeſsion of all the 11. the names and ſur-names of ſuch *Engliſh* as had perſwaded and hyred them to this fact; of which *Engliſh*, one (viz. *Abel Price*, Barber) was before apprehended (as an *Incendiary*) for burning and violence done vpon other houſes, who alſo was firſt examined, and firſt confeſſed (as the other 11. *Iaponians*) that he (by name, *Gabriel Towerſon*) and other *Engliſh Marchants*, whom hee named by their names, had ſuborned the ſaid *Iaponian* ſouldiers; and that all the *Engliſh Marchants* in the *Forraigne Cantores* in *Amboyna*, had knowledge of this conſpiracy, &c. So that it may bee ſeene, out of that which went before, that the *Dutch Gouernour* dealt no otherwiſe in the apprehenſion, & examination of the *Engliſh*, than according to his place, and power, and that with great diſcretion, according to the lawes of theſe *Vnited Prouinces*.

Obiect. 2. Q

The ſecond point which is abuſiuely diſperſed in *England*, againſt this execution, is, that it is ſaid, that it did not appertain to the *Netherlanders* in *Amboyna* to impriſon the ſaid *Engliſh*, and to proceede againſt them, or to puniſh them; but that it did belong to the *Councell of defence* reſident at *Iaquetra*, conſiſting half of *Engliſh*, & half of *Netherlanders*, according to the treaty of the yeare 1619. made betweene his *Maieſty* and the *Lords the States*, betweene the two *Eaſt-India Companyes*. That I might the better informe my ſelfe thereof, I tooke in hand, and peruſed the *generall* treaty of 1619. with the explication following ther-

vpon;

vpon ; but I profeſſe, that (as I thinke) euery vnderſtanding man, (not louing diſcord) muſt confeſſe, that neither in the ſaid treaty, nor in the enlargement, any one article or word could be perceiued, wherby (according to that which is vntruely ſaid in *England*) either this, or any ſuch thing is ordayned, or decided, by the ſaid treaty ; as it ought to haue clearely beene in ſo great and important a point, as this part of iuriſdiction is. I appeale to all wiſe men, who I deſire may iudge of this, whether this ſpeech of ſome in *England* (to wit, that the ſaid Councell of defence ſhould (alone) haue iudged theſe conſpirators) bee agreable to the ſaid treaty, or contrary to the ſame. I finde many arguments for my negatiue opinion, to wit, that before the treaty of 1619. the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* adminiſtred iuriſdiction, and iudicature, vpon all and euery one who dwelt in or vnder the iuriſdiction of the Caſtle, as well inhabitants as ſtrangers, without difference ; and that in this ſaid treaty, the *Dutch*, with the *Engliſh Merchants*, made onely a league in the matter of commerce and negotiation of *Nutmegs*, *Mace*, *Cloues*, and *Pepper*, in ſome quarters, without hauing any further treaty, or communication in the land ; ſo that without the bounds of this common negotiation, euery one remained free, and vn-hyndered in the land, by the right and poſſeſsion which either Company enioyed and exerciſed ſeuerally ; according as the ſame appeareth out of the 23. article of the treaty: where it is expreſsly ſaid ; *That Caſtles and Forts ſhall remayne* in their hands who at preſent doe poſſeſſe them : And out of the 13. 14. 15. articles of the trea-

ty, all may ſee, that this common Councell of *Defence* hath no more power, ſaue onely ouer the fellowſhip of the treaty, that is, ouer the Nauy of defence in the Sea, to the defence of the common Merchandize, and liberty of commerce; and laſtly, to taxe the charges for the prouiſion of munition in the Forts: neither can any other thing be ſincerely collected out of the ſaid treaty, ſo farre as I can conceiue. Therefore this ſecond point is found to be vntrue and abuſiue, being not founded vpon the ſaid treaty, which treaty (notwithſtanding) ought to bee the onely rule, both of the one and the other Company.

R Finally, it is giuen out in *England*, that in the examination of the Conſpirators there was exceſſe in the *Netherlands* Iudges, in the point of *Torture*. I acknowledge, that no argument or pretext againſt the iuſtice of this execution, hath more mooued mee in the beginning, than this pretence of exceſſe aforeſaid, becauſe this ſtirreth Chriſtian compaſsion; although I alſo iudge, that wiſe men will not ſuffer themſelues to bee too much tranſported thereby, before the true reaſons doe fully appeare, which ſhould moue vs thereunto. For, I well remember yet, that in the time of former miſtakings in the *Indyes*, many things were pretended on both parts, vpon which, there were great outcries on either ſide, which yet, by due examination, were found to be (though faine yet) falſe pretexts of ſome ill-willers, and men deſirous to wrangle: which pretences being throughly ſifted by the High and much admired wiſdome of his *Maieſty*, and the *Lords* the

States,

States, were well discouered to be no such matters as they were made: as it is also vndoubtedly to be beleeued, that his *Maiesty*, and the *States* will yet further doe in this affaire; and so the cause of the *Dutch* Company may bee (in the carriage hereof) rightly iustified. Of which I vnderstand that the *Lords* the *States* haue speciall regard, and that they haue beene throughly informed, what is the very truth of the things there past, and of the execution in *Amboyna* vpon the *English* Conspirators. Vnto which end the *Lords* the *States* resolued to see and peruse all the papers and letters, touching the said proceedings: And now thereupon men speake farre otherwise than heretofore; for pretences and cauills (being once detected) cannot stand with truth. And it doth plainly appeare, that there is little truth in the matter of torture, reported to bee most cruelly inflicted vpon these *English* Conspirators, as in *England* it is said. And I haue euer suspected this for a slander: for I know the *Dutch* Nation doth naturally abhorre this kinde of cruelty, and are as much mooued to commiseration, as any other people. But whether these euill minded men, who haue scattered this great slander in *England*, and haue so fowly defaced a iust cause, haue done it by occasion of our vse of tortures in these lands, in some weighty causes, according to the custome of the most dominions of *Europe*; I cannot iudge. But is that to bee censured and iudged to bee vniust of the whole world, which is repugnant to the lawes of *England*, (or any one Nation) where torture is rarely vsed? Nothing so; but the iustice or iniustice of a cause,

muſt bee (as aforeſaid) determined, according to the lawes where it is done, and not of other lands. If this were not ſo, why then ſhould not the whole world much more iudge that as a hard, and a thing vnheard, (and therfore condemnable) which in ſome caſes is vſed in *England*, according to the lawes there, when they proceed againſt ſome guilty perſon; who being once and againe asked of the Iudge, and vtterly refuſing to bee legally tried, is adiudged as dumbe, that is, by contumacy; whoſe condemnation then accordingly followeth, That hee is laid vpon a table, or planke, and another planke vpon him, and ſo much weight of ſtone or lead laid vpon him, that his body is miſerably bruiſed, and ſo preſſed violently to death. The which, according to the confeſsion of all nations, (eſpecially, becauſe this kinde of iuſtice is not vſed in other lands) and by the *Engliſh* writers, is iudged to bee one of the moſt ſharpe and ſeuere kindes of death, that can be inuented; yet cannot ſuch an execution bee called cruell and vnlawfull when it is done in *England*, becauſe it is done according to the lawes of that land, though ſtrangers ſhall iudge otherwiſe of it. And in like manner the *Engliſh* nation cannot complaine of the torture which cuill willers ſay, was vſed vpon theſe *Engliſh* Conſpirators in *Amboyna*, becauſe it was done according to the lawes of this *Gouernment*, and is not vnuſual in caſes of treaſon, neither with vs, nor (almoſt) any Nation in *Europe*. And for *England* it ſelfe, it is well knowne (and his moſt excellent *Maieſty* doth acknowledge by his owne *Princely* pen) that the *Rack*, & the *Manicles*, are

the

the onely tortures, that are exerciſed vpon *Traytors*, to force them to confeſſe, *(without concealement)* what they knowe to bee dangerous to the *State*.

And to ſay the truth, without taking parts, the *Engliſh* Conſpirators being affronted with the vniforme and written confeſsions, of the 11. *Iaponians* (their Complices) which could conuince them ſufficiently, according to the lawes, and finde them guilty of the ſame conſpiracy, and conſequently of death: if now, notwithſtanding this, they had perſiſted in the ſtout deniall of the fact, were not this (to ſpeake according to the manner in *England*) enough to iudge them dumb by contumacy, and ſo to eſteeme them worthy of this ſore puniſhment of preſsing to death, as is aforeſaid? But this torture of ours (if any in *Amboyna* were ſo tortured) is to bee iudged farre leſſe than that preſsing, where the malefactor doth ſuffer ſuch extreame miſery as cannot bee imagined, and which is not to bee lenifyed or eaſed at all, but ended by death. But to the ſufficient ſatisfaction of my ſelfe, and your Worſhip, and all men, and not to ſpeake according to the ſentence, and conſcience of others; I haue vſed all diligence to get into my hands the written *proceſſe*, concerning the Conſpirators in *Amboyna*; which I obtained authentically, and read carefully: and I finde that all that is by mee aboue ſaid, is confirmed, to wit, That the *Iaponian* Complices were examined, and made their confeſsions as aforeſaid, for three dayes, viz. the 23. 24. 25. of Feb. 1623. and that all this being done, and conſummated before, then at laſt, is *Gabriel Towerſon*, firſt with the reſt of

the

the *Engliſh* Complices, impriſoned, the ſaid 25. of February, when their examination and confeſsion began, and continued diuers dayes without ouerhaſting, till the 3. of March. And the ſaid examinations and confeſsions being ſo finiſhed, the *Netherlands Gouernour*, and *Councell*, deliberated whether the puniſhment might bee deferred to any long time, or referred to any other place; but it was ſo concluded, by ioynt conſent of all, that the ſaid puniſhment (there deſerued) muſt bee executed in the ſame place, *for example*, and that it could not (in any wiſe) bee delaied without extreame danger, for reaſons there related; and among others, becauſe the *Ternatanes*, and *Indians* about *Amboyna*, had otherwiſe than they were wont, rebelled; neither could it bee fully knowne, what great confederacy theſe Conſpirators had made with them, and others. And touching any extraordinary and cruell torture, I haue accuratly ouer-looked euery ones confeſsion, but I finde not one word in any one, which maketh any mention of ſuch torture, as is vniuſtly ſpoken of in *England*; nay, ſcarce finde any mention of that ordinary torture, which is in vſe, ſaue only theſe words, in one act of the 25. of Feb. 1623. viz. *The Councell being gathered together, haue thought meete, that all the* Engliſh *ſhould be preſently examined one after another (as accordingly it was inſtantly done) and ſome of them*, before any torture; *others*, after a little (or rather a touch) of it, *confeſſed as followeth.* Vnto which, followeth preſently the particular confeſsion of each one, ſubſcribed with his owne hand, as aforeſaid. So that hence it is manifeſt, that no extraordi-

traordinary torture was vſed, in ſuch manner as is giuen-out there, by thoſe that wiſh vs euill; nay, that thoſe *few* that felt any, were onely touched (not puniſhed) with ordinary torture.

And thus your *worſhip* hath the vpright and impartiall truth of this buſineſſe, touching the whole paſſage as it proceeded, and the puniſhment, as it was inflicted; from which, ſome *Engliſh* were exempted by fauour, that the *Engliſh* goods ſhould not be loſt, according as order hath beene giuen to that end: And I finde that the ſentence was giuen the 9. of March, 1623. by a competent aſſembly of 14. Iudges, who (as it appeareth in the ſentence) in the doing thereof, did (*before*) earneſtly call vpon the name of the *Lord*, that hee would pleaſe to be preſident and predominant in euery one of their hearts, in this their *ſorrowfull aſſembly*; and that hee would inſpire them onely with that which might bee iudged to bee expedient and iuſt, &c. So that out of all that is aboue ſaid, nothing elſe can appeare, but that this buſineſſe was managed lawfully, and orderly, by men of honeſty and conſcience, againſt ſuch as had vndertaken againſt the *State*, againſt the wealth and aduantage of this *East-India Company*, the liues of their *Officers* there placed, againſt the eſtate and welfare of many, who had little deſerued, and as little expected, ſuch wickednes from their friendly confederates in the ſame ſociety of *Marchants*, there reſident with them.

S

And now (conſidering the premiſſes) I hope it ſhall bee farre from euery *Chriſtian* in any wiſe to protect or excuſe this wicked fact, but rather to

mourne and grieue (as we doe) for this conſpiracy, and for the euill thé conſpirators haue ſo *deſeruedly* drawne vpon their owne heads; and to honour them, who in iuſtice haue puniſhed villany, according to the due merit thereof: for wee all know, that without *IVSTICE*, without reward of that which is *Good*, and puniſhment of that which is *Euill*, no ſociety of mankinde can conſiſt.

And of this information (which I ſend in loue, and honour, to your *Worſhip*, as vnto *a louer of Truth*, and *a hater of Treachery*) you may make ſuch vſe, as to you ſhall ſeeme good, in any place where you come, both for *refutation* of any thing already reported contrary thereunto, and for *preuention* of any further falſe rumors, or clamors; and finally, for *propagation* of that vndoubted truth, which *here* (to my beſt) I haue endeauoured to diſcouer. And if you ſhall meete with any thing of worth which can be truly auowed to bee contradictory vnto any thing I haue written, I deſire to vnderſtand it from you, and you to ſuſpend your *wiſe* and impartiall iudgement, till I haue cleared it vnto you. *TRVTH* remaineth euer the ſame. So I commend you to the *God of truth*, deſiring him to giue vs mindes, *Not to iudge according to outward appearance, but to iudge with a righteous iudgement.*

From my Lodging, July 23. 1624.

THE

ANSWER

VNTO THE *DUTCH*

PAMPHLET,

MADE IN DEFENCE

OF THE VNIVST AND BARbarous proceedings againſt the ENGLISH at

AMBOYNA

In the Eaſt-Indies, by the HOLLANDERS *there.*

Printed at London, *Anno*

M.DC.XXIV.

AN ANSWER TO THE *DUTCH* RELATION, TOVCHING THE PRETENDED Conſpiracie of the ENGLISH at AMBOYNA *in the Indies.*

THE Compiler of this relation, perceiuing that hee had an hard taske, to make it probable, that eighteen Engliſhmen, Merchants and their ſeruants, all vnarmed, ſhould, with the helpe and aſſiſtance of tenne Iapons, likewiſe vnarmed, vndertake the ſurprize of a Caſtle, ſo prouided euery way, as that of Amboyna, is before in the relation of the Engliſh truely deſcribed to bee: alſo, the ſame Author well weighing, that albeit all that he was to write of this pretended Conſpiracie, ſhould bee taken for true, yet the fact would ſeeme very poore, to beare ſo rigorous a puniſhment in perſons of that qualitie, and of that relation to thoſe that inflicted it; prouides more skilfully than fairely, for both theſe points in the preamble of this relation: To this end, he takes and heapes together all the iealouſies and dangers that the Dutch

had in the Indies, yea and more than they truely had, at or about the time of the pretended conspiracie, and applyes them all to the suspicion of this busines: as if all their enemies were likely to conspire with the English; and therefore the fact, vnder colour whereof they were condemned and executed, were possible and probable; and as if the state of the time had bin then so dangerous, that euery shadow of conspiracy was to bee exquisitely enquired of, and the least offence to be seuerely puuished. Wherefore although this be no direct charge of the English, but vsed by the Author to supply the want of probabilities in the processe it selfe, it will not be amisse to examine the seuerall circumstances, and how far they may yeeld any suspicion against the said English.

Now this Author taketh the maine grounds of this suspicion of some great plot against the Prouince of Amboyna, from the vnwonted boldnesse and insolencies of the Ternatans; first in the Moluccoes, and then in Amboyna. For those in the Moluccoes, he saith, they had lately before the pretended conspiracy of the English, gone about, contrary to the Treatie, *Anno* 1606. betweene them and the Dutch, to make peace with the King of Tedore, and truce with the Spaniard, without the consent or knowledge of them, the Dutch: which how honestly and conscionably it is alleaged to this purpose, may appeare by the Iournalls of those parts; which euidently shew, that this Treatie betweene those of Ternata and Tedore, was in Nouember, 1621. that is to say, fifteene moneths before this forged conspiracie; and that with the knowledge of *Houtman*, the Gouernour of the Dutch, who, vpon

A

the

the 19 of Nouember the yeare aforesaid, acquainted M. *Nichols*, the Agent of the English in those parts, with the preparations of this Treatie, which was actually holden at Ternata the 24. of the same month. But the matter was so well handled by the Dutch, to keepe those neighbour Islands in perpetuall warre, that the Treatie was dissolued *re infectâ*, And the seuenth of December following, an Edict was published by the King of Ternata, commanding all the Tedorians forthwith to depart the Island of Ternata, vpon paine to be made slaues. After this, the correspondence betweene the Dutch and Ternatans in the Moluccoes, returned into as firme state as euer; the Ternatans performing daily exploits against the Spaniards, and communicating the triumph with the Dutch: As the seuenteenth of February 1622. being a full yeare before the feined treason of the English, the King of Ternata, with twentie Curricurries, tooke a Spanish Galley, slew fortie in fight, and took 150 prisoners, whom they sold to the Dutch for Cloth and Rice: and comming by the Hollanders Castle of Maalaïo, the eighteenth of the same moneth, with the heads of diuers Spaniards at his Stern, the Dutch saluted him from their said Castle with nine shot of great Ordnance. The 25. of Aprill following, the Admirall of the King of Ternata tooke a Prow of the Spaniards, slew some, and sold the rest to the Dutch. The 28. of the same moneth, both Dutch and English were feasted by the King of Ternata. The 22. of May next ensuing, the king of Ternata went forth to Machian with sixe Curricurries, and at his departure was honoured with thirty shot of great Ordnance from the Dutch Castle. The 15. of

Iune

Iune, the Admirall of the King of Ternata made a voyage towards Mindanow, carrying diuerse of the Dutch with him to assist him. The third of Iuly, the Ternatanes tooke other prisoners, and sold them to the Dutch. The 24. of August, the king of Ternata made one *Vogler* a Dutch Merchant, his Treasurer; at whose instalment in his new office, the Dutch gaue seuen great shot from the Castle. And this good correspondence, betweene the Ternatans and the Dutch in the Moluccoes, continued euen vntill, and after the execution of the English at Amboyna: which was (as hath beene shewed) in March 1623. *new stile*. Vpon the 14. of which moneth, the Dutch gaue the king of Ternata, and other Blacks, two hundred Bails of Iapan Rice, with other presents: at the deliuerie whereof, there were shot off from the Castle seuen peeces of Ordnance, and three Vollies of small shot. By all which may appeare, how sincerely this Author applyeth the diffidence betweene the Dutch and the king of Ternata, which was now none at all, to this businesse of Amboyna,

B The next point is, that the Ternatans in the Moluccoes went about also to make truce with the Spaniards, without consent or knowledge of the Dutch: wherein this dealing of the Author is worse than the former. For this Treatie of truce appeareth by the Iournalls, to haue beene holden the 19. of Iuly 1623. which was fiue moneths after the execution of the English at Amboyna, and so came too late to moue suspicion against them.

C And yet this pretended feare and iealousie of the Moluccoes is further amplified by the strength of the Spaniard, beeing then (as this Author affirmeth) Ma-

ster

ster of the sea there, and that by default of the English; who, contrary to the treaty of the yeer 1619. had deserted the defense, and sent no moe ships, neither to the Moluccoes, nor to the Manilliaes: whence now the Spaniards had means to send Ships, Gallies, and Pinaces, to the Moluccoes. What the strength of the Spaniard in the Moluccoes (by sea) was, at the time of this pretended feare, may appeare by the exploits before-mentioned, done vpon them by the Curricurries of the Tenatans, without helpe of the Hollanders. But for the default of the English, which is heer odiously alledged, it will be requisite to set downe the true causes wherefore the English relinquished the action of defense, aswel at the Manilliaes, as elsewhere; being a matter much aggrauated vpon all occasions by the Hollanders, albeit themselues haue giuen the cause thereof. Wherefore briefly, the true motiues of the English, there desisting from the action of defense, were as followeth. The English had, by agreement of the Councell of defense, two yeers together maintained a Fleet of fiue tall & warlike ships, to ioine with the like strength of the Hollanders, for the action of the Manilliaes, and the profit of the voyage (as the charge) to bee common to both Companies. The Dutch prepared another Fleet of seuen shippes, all of their owne, for Macao, bordering vpon Chyna, neer the Manilliaes, without giuing knowledge thereof to the English at Iaccatra, vntill their Fleet was ready to depart thence; well knowing, that vpon such warning it would be impossible for the English to prepare a like force to ioyne with them. To those they appointed also eight Pinaces that were then abroad, to ioin; and afterwards

sent another ship with prouisions vnto them. This Fleet passing by two of the English ships, which were appointed for that quarter of the Manilliaes; the English welcomed them, and offered to joyn with them in their exploit. Which the Dutch refused, saying, That this being an exploit of their owne, the English should neither participate of the fact, nor of the benefit that might arise thereby. Likewise, by agreement of the Councell of defense of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten shippes set forth at the equall charge of the English and Dutch, for the coast of Mallabar, to secure the trade in that part. Of the Dutch ships (about a moneth after they set saile) two were found to bee so weak and leak, that they were fain to returne to Iaccatra. The rest being comne to their quarter, two of the best of the Dutch ships were sent away by the Dutch Admirall, for the red Sea; contrary to their instructions and commission at Iaccatra from the Councel of defense, and notwithstanding the protestations, obtestations, and exclamations of the English against this preuarication. So that foure Caracks of the Portugals coming that way, the rest of the Fleet of the English and Dutch being thus weakned by the default of the foure Dutch ships aforesaid; the faireſt oportunity that euer hapned, eyther before or since the joyning of the English and Dutch Companies, or is euer likely to offer it self in the future, was lost and vtterly defeated. By this it appeareth, what cause the Dutch haue to complaine of the English for deserting the action of defense, and what reason and encouragement the English haue to continue the joynt action and charge with those that vse so little sincerity, euer contriuing the common

actions

actions and charge to their priuate aduantage; that when the joynt forces are imployed to giue the enemie work in one part, they (the Hollanders) might with eaſe oppreſſe them in another, and appropriate the whole benefit to themſelues.

The next ſuſpicion that this Author gathereth, is from the inſolencies of the Ternatans of Amboyna, dwelling at Loho and Cambello, and thereabouts; who (as this Author ſaith) preſumed now, beyond former exãple, to outrage the ſubjects of the Dutch, ſlaying them, and carrying them away for ſlaues, yea burning two of their houſes, one at Loho, & another at Manichells: for which when the Gouernor went out with a Fleet to craue juſtice and reparation, hee was braued by the Ternatans with a ſtronger Fleet than his owne; yea, they threatned to come with an hundred Curricurries againſt Amboyna. D

This dealing of the Authour is like the former about the Treatie of peace with the Tedorians, and truce with the Spaniards. For when the Gouernour of Amboyna ſet foorth the laſt Fleet of Curricurries before the apprehenſion of the Engliſh, hee ſtood on good tearmes with the Ternatans at Loho; neither of the Factories heere mentioned beeing then burnt or injured. The Gouernour then went onely, according to his yeerely cuſtome, to viſit the skirts and out-parts of Amboyna, and had no affront offered him. After that, vpon occaſion of a ſlaue of the Engliſh that ranne away, and, being afterwards laid hold on, was reſcued by a reputed holy man of or neere that part; the Engliſh craued aſſiſtance of the Dutch Gouernour: who did his beſt, but was therein abuſed by thoſe of Loho; and not only ſome of his men

outraged, but the English Factor Master *Beomont* was way-laid by the people of the said holy man: and, in stead of him, one of the seruants of the Dutch was slain between Cambello and Loho. The next day also, was *Beomont* himself assailed, and shot in the hand by the same holy mans people, who also a little before did their best to kill *William Grigs*, another of the English Factors, that finding the said slaue at Loho, laid hold on him there. Vpon this occasion, both the English and Dutch left their Factorie at Loho, which was shortly after burnt by those Ternatans. That other, touching the burning of the Factorie at Manichells, is more grossely applyed than the former; for that Factorie was burnt after the English were apprehended: besides that, this Author dissembleth that there was a vehement and common suspicion at Amboyna, that this Factorie at Manichells was burnt, not by the Ternatans, but by the Dutch Factor himself, who, being there alone, was said to haue first conueied away the goods of the Dutch and the English there for his owne vse, and then to haue burnt the Factorie; laying the fact vpon the Ternatans.

After this indeed, the Gouernour of Amboyna made out a Fleet of Curricurries, to procure reparation of those excesses; and therein not going so strong as he might, was braued by those Ternatans of Amboyna. But this was after the apprehension and execution of the English; and so is as honestly applied to moue suspicion in this place, as the ioint quarrel of the English and Dutch with those of Loho, beginning vpon occasion of the English; & as the burning of the Factorie at Manichells, done after the English

lish were apprehended and imprisoned. As for the threats of the Ternatans here mentioned, that they would come with 100. Curricurries against Amboyna, it is (for ought any of the English euer heard) a meere fiction; at most, it was a vaine bragge, and such as could not affright the Gouernour, that knoweth well that the Ternatans haue no gun-powder, nor other prouisions, for such an exploit; and yet are far behinde the Gouernour of Amboyna for number of Curricurries, besides the Dutch ships and Castles.

The next cause of suspicion, this Author makes to E
be an idle report in the East parts beyond Banda (vncertain what, or by whom) that the Hollanders were already quit of their Castle at Amboyna. A poore pretence, and not worthy to bee answered; yet still further discouering what penury of good matter this Author had, that he was faine to borrow such crazie stuffe.

But the last, and that which alone is expresly applied to the English, is, That about this time the Dutch vnderstood, that those of Loho and Cambello held great and secret correspondence with the English. How did the Dutch vnderstand this? or why doth not this Author expresse the particular proofe, in a matter so pertinent? It is true, the English had their Factories at Loho and Cambello; but in the same houses with the Dutch, and for their ioint accompt, and had trafficke with the countrey-people, as the Dutch had: but what secret correspondencie is this? or what danger to the Dutch? Was the burning of the Factories, which belonged to the English as well as to the Dutch, a note of good intelligence between the English and the *Incendiaries*? What was that for-

correspondencie with those of Loho, when at one time they way-laied M. *Beomont* to kill him, and at another time shot him in the hand with an arrow, offered to kill *William Grigs*, and from time to time abused and outraged our people, equally with, and as the Dutch? Further, our people, as wel as the Dutch, had now dissolued their Factory at Loho, and were come all thence. What Letters or Messages did they euer send thither afterwards? or how, and by what means maintained they this correspondence? Yet this was vnderstood, saith this Relation. How vnderstood? Perhaps by the Gouernors dreams: for that (as hee afterwards told M. *Welden*, *Hill*, and *Cartwright*, that came thither from Banda) was a motiue to him to examine the first Iapon, which was the beginning of the whole Processe.

G The Author, hauing thus quit himselfe in this preface, proceedeth to the matter it selfe, first setting down the occasion and manner of the discouerie of this pretended plot, and then the confessions of the Iapons, and of the English: but he maketh no mention of any torture vsed vpon the Iapons that first confessed, nor of any other *indicium* or presumption to torture or examine that Iapon; but onely his curious questioning touching the setting and changing of the Watch, and of the number of the Souldiers in the Castle: which, what sufficient *indicium* aud cause it was to torture a Souldier of their owne, that, seruing them, had reason to desire to vnderstand the course of their Watches, and the strength of the aid hee might expect, if any sudden attempt should happen in his quarter; is easily to be judged. And how this poor man, and the rest of his country-men were tortured,

appeareth

appeareth in the English relation. Here also is concealed, by what maner and kinde of questions, this and the other Iapons were ledde along in their confessions, to make vp the plot iust as the Dutch had deuised it: as also, what other answers they made, before they were thus directed. That they, and the English both, confessed what the Dutch would haue them, is no doubt nor wonder, being so tormented and feared with torture; *Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor*. But what likelyhood or possibilitie there is of the truth of their confessions (if yet they confessed as is here related) may appear by that which hath beene alreadie discoursed in this point, towards the end of the English relation; which for breuitie sake is here forborne to be repeated. Yet some circumstances, which the Dutch Relation hath more than the English, deserue here to be examined. And first, that of *Abel Price* the English Barber, who is made the messenger & negotiator of this practice with the Iapons. It is true, that hee (and hee alone of all the English) had some kinde of conuersation with some of the Iapons; that is, he would dice and drinke with them, as he likewise did with other Blacks, and with the Dutch also. But is it credible, that M. *Towerson* would commit anie thing of moment, nay, so dangerous a matter as this, to a drunken debauched sot, who also (as the English that were there, constantly report) threatned to cut his, the said *Towersons*, throat, for that he had punished him for his misdemeanors? Further, this Relation maketh this *Abel Price* confesse, that all the English Merchants in the out-Factories, were priuie and accessarie to this pretended treason: Yet the Gouernour and Fiscall in their owne

pro-

proceſſe found *Iohn Powle*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, and two others guiltleſſe.

H After *Price* his confeſſion, he ſets downe the generall ſubſtance of all the confeſſions in one body; where firſt hauing aſſigned Maſter *Towerſon* a preface to the reſt, to induce them to the exploit, he tells vs; that they made doubt of the point of poſſibilitie, (as well they might) knowing the weakneſſe of their owne part, and impregnable ſtrength of the Dutch, in compariſon of theirs: for ſatisfaction of which their doubt, he ſaith, M. *Towerſon* told them that hee had already won the Iapons within the Caſtle to his purpoſe, and that he would attempt this matter; not when the Dutch were at their full ſtrength, and the Engliſh at the weakeſt, but would expect till the Gouernour ſhould bee ſome where abroad vpon ſome exploit, and ſome Engliſh ſhips, or ſhip at leaſt, at Amboyna; the people whereof hee would vſe in the enterprize: Likewiſe, he would ſend for the Factors and ſlaues of the other Factories, and ſhould haue a ſupply from the Ternatans of Loho, of certaine Curricurries, &c.

I Here he hath inrolled a goodly armie for this action; but let vs ſee the manner how they ſhould haue executed their exploit. And firſt for the Iapons in the Caſtle: we muſt beleeue, if this Author or his voucher ſay true, that Maſter *Towerſon* had acquainted thoſe, and wonne them to his plot, before he had imparted it to his owne countrey-men the Engliſh. And yet in the acts of the proceſſe, *Emanuel Tomſon* is recorded to haue confeſſed, that eight dayes after the conſultation, Maſter *Towerſon* told him, that hee had then ſent out *Iohnſon* and *Price* to treate with the Iapons,

Iapons, and winne their consent to this enterprise. But what should these (being all but ten) haue done? Marrie (saith the relation by and by) Master *Towerson* had ordeined, that eight of them should haue bin bestowed, by two in a company, vpon the foure points of the Castle, to kill all those that should resist them, and to take the rest prisoners. It must bee (therefore) here imagined, that the Dutch and their Mardikers in their Castle, being three or 4. hundred, would scorne to take the aduantage of sending fortie or fiftie; much more of an intire company, to any point of the Castle, but would combate with the Iapons at euen hand by two at a time, and so giue the Iapons leaue & respit to kill or take them by two, & by two. A sweet conceit! and such a seruice as perhaps hath bin somtimes represented vpon a stage, but neuer acted in surprise of a Castle in good earnest.

Thus we see how eight of the Iapons were to bee imployed; what should the other two haue done? forsooth they should haue waited in the great chamber to murther the Gouernor. Yea, but this relation told vs yer while, that this plot should haue been executed when the Gouernor was abroad vpon some action. How then should these two Iapons haue killed him in the Castle, at the same time? But wee see how all the Iapons (that is, all the pretended partie of the English within the Castle) should haue beene occupyed. Who should haue opened the gates to the English, and their other aydes? who should haue killed the Court of guard at the gate? These parts were left for them that were without: therefore let vs take a reuiew of them, what they were. The relation mustereth them to be fourteene English, where-

of eleuen were Merchants; one Steward of the house, one Taylor, and one Barber, to dresse the wounded, besides God knowes how many English shippers, slaues, and Ternatans. First, for the English Merchants, of what dexteritie they are to take Forts, is easily iudged; and in all the English house when it was seized by the Dutch, vpon this pretended treason, the whole prouision was but three swords, two hand-guns, and about halfe a pound of powder. Yea but the English ship or ships would haue brought both fitter men and better prouision. But how knew Master *Towerson* that those of the English ships, when they came, would ioyne with him in this worke being so contrary to the Treatie, and it selfe so dangerous? or why did he not stay the opening of the plot till this ship or ships were come, that he might sweare the shippers also; or at least the chiefe Officers amongst them, and take their aduice? Is it possible that Master *Towerson* was so slight, as to open his plot to all the English at Amboyna, yea to the Taylor and Barber; and, which is more, to the Iapons, so long before it was to bee put in execution, and before hee knew the mindes of his chiefest assistants, of whose arriuall he was so incertaine? Yea, but he was sure of the slaues of the English, and of the Ternatans of Loho, with their *Curricurries in quemlibet euentum.* This indeed is the remainder of the Armie; let vs view them. The slaues were, in all the English Factories, iust sixe in number, and all boyes: The Ternatans were enemies aswell to the English as to the Dutch, as is before shewed in answer to the preamble. When were they reconciled? how commeth it, that in all the examinations of the English,

lish, this point was not sifted, and somewhat confessed of it amidst so many tortures? There is no confession thereof in all the examinations; and M. *Towerson* in his expresly denied it, and was pressed no further. The truth is, the Gouernor and Fiscall of Amboyna knew, that what-euer had been confessed in this point, would not haue been beleeued by their owne people there; who knew well enough, that the first beginning of this breach between the Dutch & Ternatans at Loho, was about the slaue of the English: and the outrages thereupon following, were done vpon the English, aswell as vpon the Dutch. Yet this Author seems to hope, that that may be beleeued heer in Europe, wch had no colour at *Amboyna*.

Concerning the time of executing this plot, it was (as the relation saith) not yet prefixed, but left to the next meeting of the conspirators, which should bee shortly holden, when *Gabriel Towerson* had prepared all things, &c. Heer was certainly a hot practice of treason, and worthy to be tearmed by this Authour, An horrible conspiracy. They met together on New yeers day, and plotted as is before related: and now it was the fiue and twentith of February, and not only nothing done all this *Interim*, but not so much as a new consultation. But this (forsooth) is the body and substance of the vniforme confession of all the English, by themselues seuerally subscribed. In the next place the Author relateth somewhat singular in M. *Towerson*'s confession; as that he said, he was moued to this fact by hope and desire of honour & profit: and being demanded from whom hee attended this honour, and for whom he meant to hold the Castle, his answer was, That if he could haue compassed

K

L

his proiect, he would forthwith haue giuen aduertisement thereof to the rest of his nation at Iaccatra (which now they haue christianed Batauia), and haue craued their aid: which if they had yeelded him, then hee would haue held the Castle for the English Company; and if not, then hee would haue kept it for himselfe, and haue vsed meanes to haue agreed with the Indians: and so, by the one means or other, would haue compassed the enterprise.

Here first is to be obserued, that hee would not (as this Author makes him speake) haue sent for aid to Iaccatra, vntill hee were first Master of the Castle: and yet in the generall confession before, it is said, he would attend the coming of some English shippes or ship, before hee would aduenture vpon the Castle. Next, let the ambiguous and alternatiue resolution, heer said to be confessed by M. *Towerson*, be considered in both the parts thereof, and it will appear, that no man in his wits would haue any such conceit as is heer pretended. What hope could M. *Towerson* haue, that the President and English Councell at Iaccatra, liuing vnder command of the Dutch Fort there, and altogether subiect to the Hollanders, durst joyne in any such action, thereby to giue occasion to the Hollanders to arrest, torture, and condemn them of treason? M. *Towerson* knew well enough, that about six moneths before, the Generall of the Dutch at Iaccatra, had caught at a very slight occasion to entrap the English President there: who hauing sent out two of his people in the night to the English Cow-house, to see what watch the Blacks in their seruice kept ouer their cattell; the said two English were apprehended by the Dutch souldiers, kept in prison seuen dayes,

and

and charged, that they had said that they went the Round: and one of them, being last examined, was told by the Balieu (the officer of the Dutch in criminall causes), that his fellow had confessed, that they had said they went the Round, and that by the English Presidents commission; and if he would not confesse the same, he should be tortured: but the fellow, being constant in the truth, came off at last without torture. yet this was *Item* enough to the English President and Councell, how the intent of the Dutch was to entrap them vpon the least occasion: and this, and other daily captious dealings of the Dutch at Iaccatra, which were too long heer to receit, were all aduertised from time to time to M. *Towerson*, who therefore was sure he could expect no assistance from them, that were themselues in such a predicament. The other part of M. *Towerson*'s resolution is said to haue been, To keep the Castle for himselfe, and to agree with the Indians, in default of helpe from the English. This is yet more improbable than the former. Were the Portugals and Indians not able to keep out the Dutch from Amboyna, when they had no footing there; and shall Captaine *Towerson*, with twenty or thirty English and Iapons, without Ship or Pinace, be able, with the help only of the poor naked Indians, to driue them out, hauing already three Castles in the Ilands of Amboyna, and at Cambello hard by, all well furnished with men and prouision, besides their power of shipping, which makes them stile themselues Lords of the Sea? And yet how could M. *Towerson* hope to winne the Amboynezes (the Hollanders sworn subiects) to his side? He might rather assure himself, that after hee had mastered the

Hollanders (if yet that must be beleeued to be possible), the Amboynezes would haue surprised him, and cast him out (beeing so weakly prouided to stand of himselfe), that so they might vtterly free themselues from their seruitude. Heer also must be remembred, that this Author himselfe in his preamble saith, that the Indians themselues durst not vndertake any such great designe (as he there feineth) against the State of Amboyna, without some great aid of some Nation of Europe, either of Spaniards, Portugals, or some other. Whereby is not onely confessed, how weak the Indians of themselues are; but withall it followeth, how small hope M. *Towerson* might haue, being deserted of his owne Nation (as heer the case is put), to hold the Castle for himselfe by the help of those Indians, if yet hee could once haue wonne it. In a word; they that knowe the power of the Hollanders in Amboyna and thereabouts, and the weakneſſe of the poore Indians there, will judge this conceit of M. *Towerson*'s (To keep the Castle for himselfe) to bee a mad plot; and for which, M. *Towerson* should rather haue been sent to Bedlam, or the *Dullen Kist* (as the Dutch call it), than to the Gallows.

M But this Author hath one voluntary confession, vpon which he taketh speciall hold; to wit, that M. *Towerson*, after his examination was finished, beeing expostulated withall by the Dutch Gouernour, and demanded whether this should haue been the recompence of his (the Gouernor's) manifold courtesies towards him; answered with a deep sigh, Oh! were this matter now to doe, it should neuer bee done. "This voluntary confession and penitent acknow-"ledgement, saith this Author, was made the ninth

"of

"of March, being the day when the execution was "to be done: but the examination of *Towerson* was "ended the eight and twentith of February, so many "daies before. But how shall we beleeue this? Forsooth, hee hath it out of the Acts of the Processe of Amboyna. Yea, but in these Acts are omitted many materiall passages of these examinations, as is already shewed: why may they not then be guilty of addition, aswell as of such mutilation and omission? But let vs peruse the words of the Act it selfe, which are these:

WEE, whose names are heerunto subscribed, do declare vpon our troth, in stead of an oath, that Gabriel Towerson, *after that hee had beene already examined touching his said offence, and that the worshipfull Gouernor* Van Speult *had expostulated with him thereupon, asking him whether this should haue been the recompence of his courtesies from time to time shewed vnto him, the said* Towerson: *thereupon hee, the said* Towerson, *with a deep sigh answered him, and said, Oh! if this were to bee begun againe, it should neuer bee done.* Actum *this ninth of March, in the Castle of Amboyna, and subsigned.*

Harman van Speult.
Laurence de Maerschalck.
Clement Kersseboom.
Harman Crayeuanger.
Peter van Zanten.
Leonart Clocq.

Thus we see the Act it selfe, and this pretended voluntarie confession of M. *Towerson*; which is not deliuered

liuered vpon the credite of the Court or Councell at Amboyna (and yet how small that is, is before shewed) but vpon the Attestation or Affidauit of the Gouernour and fiue others, the principall actors in this bloody Tragedie: And this not vpon their oath, but vpon their troth, or honest word (forsooth) in stead of an oath. The time when these words were vttered by M. *Towerson*, is not described by the day when he spake them, but only by the precedent Act of his examination. And yet the circumstance of time is not only an vsuall and customary solennity, and requisite in all such Attestations; but also in a businesse of this nature altogether necessarie: as likewise in this case, that of the place is. For if these words were spoken in the place of torture, or incontinently after the examination ended, they are by their owne law, esteemed no more voluntarie, than the confession vpon the Racke it selfe. Neyther yet doth this Attestation affirme, that this confession was voluntarie. But this Author, vnconscionably reporting the date of the Attestation, for the time of the confession, collects it to be voluntary, because (as he saith) it was made the ninth of March, being so many dayes after his examination, which was taken the 28. of February. Can a man attest nothing but what was done vpon the very day when he maketh Affidauit? The Attestation saith, that these words were spoken by M. *Towerson* after he had bin alreadie examined. Why may not that haue been rather vpon the very day of his examination, than vpon the day when this Act was entred; if yet he euer spake anie such words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted? the contra-

rie

rie whereof is the more probable by all the circumstances of this businesse, truely set downe in the Relation of the English.

But in that this Author makes so much of this poor circumstance, of M. *Towerſons* profession of sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntarie confession; it is plain how destitute he was of voluntary confessions, and of all true and concluding circumstances. What? was there not a letter or other paper, to be found in all the Chests and Boxes of the English, so suddenly seised at Amboyna, Larica, Hitto, and Cambello, to discouer this treason? nor amongst so manie complices of diuerse nations, a false brother to betray the rest, and accuse them voluntarily; but the processe must begin with the torture, & the Heathens confession vpon torture, be sufficient to bring Christians to torture? the debauched and notoriously infamous persons (such as *Price* was) to draw torture vpon the sober, orderly, and vnstained? And yet this Relation it selfe confesseth, that *Price*'s confession was drawne from him by the Examiners specifying of place, persons, and time vnto him. Certainly one of their owne Nation had reason to aduise, that more Aduocates might be sent ouer to the Indies, to ayde the accused, to make a legal answer; For, saith he, they goe to worke there so villanously and murtherously, that the blood of the poore people cryeth to heauen for vengeance.

Demonstration to the Lords States, touching the gouernment of the Maiores.

But why haue we no particular of any mans confession, but this of *Price* and M. *Towerſon*; and all the rest blended together in one body? Did none of all the rest go farther than his fellowes, or confesse more

than they? Where is *Sharrocks* confession, that hee was at Amboyna vpon New-yeares day, when tenne or twelue of the Dutch themselues witnessed he was at Hitto? Where is his confession of *Clarkes* plot to goe to Maccassar, to deale with the Spaniards there, to come and rob the small Factories? Where is *Collins* confession of another plot, about two moneths and a halfe before his examination, vndertaken by *Tomson*, *Iohnson*, *Price*, *Browne*, *Fardo*, and himselfe? Where be the leading Interrogatories, that directed them to the accusation framed by the Dutch, lest otherwise there had beene as many seuerall treasons confessed, as persons examined? Not a word of all this, nor of a great deale more of this kinde, which is here in England proued by the oath of sixe credible persons, to haue passed in the examinations. Wherby appeareth, how faithfully the Dutch at Amboyna haue entred the Acts of this processe. Well, at last hee concludes the narration of the confessions, with the summing vp of the number and nations of the parties, that had thus confessed; which, he saith, were ten Iapons, foureteene English, and the Neatherlandish Marnicho, or Captaine of the Slaues. By which last words, hee would giue the Reader occasion to thinke, that the fact was so cleere, and their owne proceeding so euen and iust, that they had executed one of their owne Neatherlanders for it. Which how true it is, is already declared in the conclusion of the English Relation. The truth is, this Captain of the Slaues was of the Portugall race, and born in Bengala. His verie name, *Augustine Perez*, sheweth, he was no Neatherlander.

N Hauing thus finished this relation, this Authour pro-

proceedeth to a disputation: and taking notice of some aspersions in England cast vpon these proceedings at Amboyna, he diuideth them into two heads; the one, that the processe was without its due formalitie; the other, that there was excesse and extremitie vsed against the Conspirators. For the point of formalitie, he first taketh great paines to prooue, that the formalities of processe in Amboyna, are not therefore vnlawfull, because they agree not with our forme in England. Which labour he might haue spared: for no wise man will deny him this point. And such as shall be so ignorant as to blame the Dutch for varying from vs herein, were not worthy the answering. Herewithall also hee deduceth the title of the Lords States generall to the Soueraignte of Amboyna; and so the Gouernour of Amboynaes iurisdiction, in causes as well criminall as ciuill, to bee rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the Iapons being sworne seruants to the Dutch, and in their pay, were subiect to the iurisdiction of the Dutch Gouernor. Then hee telleth vs, that the Authors and complices of murther and treason, are by the lawes of all nations to be punished with death; all which points may bee granted him without any preiudice to the cause of the English in this question.

At last he comes in particular to their case, and affirms, that the chiefe of the English there might not apprehend the English complices of this conspiracy, because themselues were complices of the fact. Which also may be granted in this point of apprehension, & safe custodie: but how it may proceed al-

O

so in the point of connusance, shall bee anon in due place examined.

In the meane time, this Author, to make the point of apprehension cleere beyond exception, saith, that the English were not apprehended vpon the first suspicion, when yet there was euidence, and *indicia* sufficient to doe it; but after the examination of all the Iapons and their ioynt confession, that the English, whom they specified by name and surname, had moued and hired them to this treason: yea, not vntill *Abel Price* had also confessed as much, and that all the English in the out-Factories were priuie thereunto. For answer hereof, that must be repeated which hath beene vpon other occasion before alleadged; that the first beginning of the processe, was by the torture, there being no sufficient euidence or *indicium* to torture the Iapon, that onely sought to enforme himselfe of the course of the Watch, and of the strength of the Castle, wherein himselfe was a souldier: and so the whole *Series* of the examination proceeding from the confession of one tortured person, to apprehend and torture another, without other euidence; though it brought forth more confessions, and those with name and surname, and other circumstances, according as the Interrogatories (or rather directories) of the Gouernour and Fiscall led the prisoners, was wholly against the forme and rule of all lawes of tortures;

Scilicet in fabrica si prauа est regula prima,
Cæteramendosè fieri atque obstipa necesse est.

But here must be answered an obiection that may be made against this, from another part of this relation,

on, that is, that some of the English confessed without or before torture; yea, this *Price* here mentioned, was either not tortured at all, or very lightly. Yea but he was shewed the tortured bodies of the poore Iapons, martyred with fire and water, and told, that vnlesse he would confesse that which they told him they had first confessed, he should be tortured as ill, or worse than they. This feare of torture is by their owne law, equalled to the torture it selfe, and consequently, the confession thereupon made no better *indicium* or euidence to bring another man to the torture, than the confession made vpon the racke it selfe. Againe, it must be here remembred, that the very matter of *Price* his confession here mentioned, to wit, that all the English Merchants of the out Factories, were priuie to the pretended treason; was refuted by the processe of the Dutch themselues, that found *Powle*, *Ramsey*, and two others of those Factories guiltlesse.

Next, this Author taketh notice of an obiection made in England against the iurisdiction of the Dutch Gouernor, and his Councell at Amboyna, ouer the English there; because this power is, by the Treatie of the yeere, 1619. disposed of, and agreed to consist in the Councell of defence of both nations at Iaccatra. For information in which point this Author saith, he hath perused ouer all the seuerall articles of the said Treatie, and findeth in the 23. article, that the Fortresses were to remaine in the hands of them that then possessed them; and in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, that the Councell of defence hath no other power, but onely ouer the Fleet of defence, ouer the commerce, and final-

ly, to taxe the charges of maintenance of the Forts: But he could not see the thirtieth article; which orders, that all disputes that cannot be decided by the Councell of defence, should bee remitted into Europe; first, to the two companies there, and in default of their agreement, to the King and States. Why then was not this dispute so proceeded in? There is nothing in the former articles, to limit the Councell of defence; and this generall article appeareth to bee added by way of ampliation, to prouide for that which was not particularly and expresly cared for in the former. Which is most plaine by the words of the explanation vpon this thirtith article, agreed vpon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides, *An.* 1619. where this course of proceeding is expresly directed, not only in disputes about the meaning of the Articles, but also about any other matter hapning in their common aboad. Since wch also the kings Ma: hath, vpon a smaller occasion than the life of his subiects, cleerly declared himself in the point of Soueraignty; That both nations in the Indies should wholly lay aside all pretence thereof ouer each other. Which declaration was sent to the Lords States Generall, and by them accepted before this bloody butchery was executed.

But if it were granted, that the Hollanders are absolute Lords of their partners the English in those parts, without respect to the Treatie, yet at least the Holländers in *Amboyna* are bound to obserue the laws of the vnited Prouinces; for so saith this author himselfe. Do these allow to begin the processe at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the racke, vpon others confession made in the torture?

Doe

Doe their lawes allow of the leading interrogatories aboue mentioned, to direct the prisoner what to say, to auoide the torture? Where, in the vnited Prouinces, is that drowning with water, in vse? or the torture with fire, vsed to *Iohnson*, *Tomson*, and *Clarke*? or especially the splitting of the toes, and launcing of the breast, and putting in gun-powder, and then firing the same, whereby the body is not left intire, neither for innocency, nor execution? *Clarke* and *Tomson* were both faine to be carried to their execution, though they were tortured many dayes before.

Lastly, their confessions were contradictorie, apparantly false, and of things impossible to bee done, much lesse practised before by the said parties; and therefore ought not by their law to haue been beleeued, nor the prisoners to haue beene condemned thereupon, without other sufficient *indicia* or euidence besides.

In the last place, this Author handleth the excesse of torture, whereof (hee taketh notice) there is much complaint in England; and saith, That the Lords States generall take great care to enforme themselues of all the passages of this businesse; and to that end haue desired to see all the letters, peeces, and papers that concerne this processe: by which it appeareth not, that there was any cruell torture vsed. But suppose the acts make no mention of them; is it any maruell that the Authours of this murtherous and tyrannous processe, being themselues the persons that also formed the acts, would omit those things that made against them? It is to be presumed also, that the acts kept by their people at Poloway in Banda, haue omitted many things of their proceſſe, R

ceſſe, againſt the poore Polaroones, whom in Auguſt, 1622. being about ſixe moneths before this execution of the Engliſh, their Gouernor there vſed in like ſort, as the Gouernor of Amboyna did the Engliſh, and gaue him a modell and precedent of this proceſſe. Which it will not bee amiſſe to relate briefly, becauſe this Authour, in the next place, alleadgeth the mercifull diſpoſition of the Netherlands nation in generall; to inferre thence, that it is vnlikely, that their Gouernour at Amboyna was ſo cruell, as is reported in England.

Polaroon, one of the Iſlands of Banda, was in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh at the time of the treaty, *Anno* 1619. and by the agreement was to remaine theirs. After the treaty came vnto the Indies, the Hollanders forbare publiſhing thereof in the Ilands of Banda, vntill they had taken Polaroon. But, knowing that it muſt be reſtored again, according to the treaty, they firſt take all courſes to make the Iland little or nothing worth: they demoliſh & deface the Buildings, tranſplant the Nutmeg-trees, plucking them vp by the roots, and carrying them into their owne Ilands of Nera and of Poloway, there to bee planted for themſelues; and at laſt finde a means to diſpeople the Iland, and to leaue it ſo, as the Engliſh might make no vſe of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that vpon this occaſion: There was a yong man, the ſon of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in Polaroon, that had committed felony; for which, by the Lawes of his Country, he was to die. This fellow, to ſaue his life, fled to another Iland of Banda, called Roſinging, and there turned Chriſtian: but quickly vnderſtanding, that that would not make him ſafe from puniſhment,

hee

hee went back secretly to his owne Countrey of Polaroon; and, hauing lurked there a few daies, tooke his passage for Nera, another Iland where the Dutch haue a Fort; and told the Dutch Gouernor, that the Orankeys of Polaroon had conspired to massacre the Dutch, as well at Polaroon, as at Poloway, with help of the people of Seran, that should send ouer thirtie Curricurries for that purpose. Immediately vpon this *indicium* of this malefactor, certaine Prows or Fisher-boats of the Polaroons, that were fishing at Poloway, were seized, and the people made prisoners. Command was sent by the Dutch Gouernor to Polaroon, that the Orankeys should come ouer to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter. The Priest of the Polaroons and seuenty Orankeys instantly took a Prow or small vessell of their owne, and imbarked themselues for Poloway. As they were at sea, and yet out of the sight of the Dutch Castle, they were met by a Fisher-boat of Bandanezes, and told, how all the rest were apprehended; and that, if they went to Poloway, they were all but dead men. Neuertheless, the Priest and the rest, although they had space and means to haue escaped to Seran and other places safe enough from the Hollanders, yet were so confident of their innocency, that they would needs to Poloway to purge themselues. Where, as soon as they were arriued, they were instantly carried prisoners to the Castle: and withall the Gouernor, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for Polaroon; whence hee fetched all the rest of the Orankeys, and brought them prisoners to the same Castle. As soone as they were come, they were presently brought to the torture of

water and fire, euen in the same sort as our people were afterwards at Amboyna; onely heerein differing, that of those at Poloway, two were so tortured, that they died in their tortures: the rest, beeing one hundred sixty two persons, were all, vpon their own forced confessions, condemned and executed. The Priest, when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the Mallaian Tongue: All yee, great and small, rich and poor, black and white, look to it: we haue committed no fault. And when hee would haue spoken more, he was taken by the hands & feet, laid along, & cut in two by the middle with a sword. Forthwith, the Gouernor caused the wiues, children, and slaues of those of Polaroon, to be all carried out of the Iland, and distributed in other Ilands subject to the Dutch; and so haue made a cleer Country for the English, where they may both plant and gather themselues, destitute of the help of any of the Countrey-people; without whom, neither the English nor Hollanders can maintaine their trade in the Indies. And yet this is not heer recited, to the end thereby to charge the Neatherlands Nation with those cruell proceedings, but the persons themselues that haue committed those barbarous tyrannies: Who, if wee shall beleeue an Author of their owne, are not of the best of that Nation. For the Maiores (as this Author sayes) vse the Indies as a *Tucht-house* or Bridewell, to manage their vnruly & vnthrifty children & kindred; whom when they cannot rule & order at home, they send to the Indies, where they are preferred to offices and places of gouernement. Yea, saith he, they prefer such to be Fiscals there, as neuer saw studie nor law. So that it is no maruell, that such persons proceed not

Nootwendich Discourse, printed Ann. 1622. vnder the name of Ymant van Waarmond

not with that iustice and moderation as is vsed generally in the Low Countries, by the choyce of the Nation there. And this agreeth well with the report of our Merchants of credite, that came lately from Amboyna; who auerre, that, excepting the Gouernour himselfe, who is well stept in yeares, of the rest of the Councell there, as well the Fiscall as others, there was scarce anie that had haire on their faces, yea, that most of them are lewd drunken debauched persons; and yet must be Iudges aswell of our English, as the poor Indians there.

Now to returne to this Authors proofes, that there was no excesse vsed in the proceedings; at the last he taketh one argument by way of comparison, from the Law of England to presse men to death: which he saith, hath much more cruelty than their course of torture, vsed by the Dutch in Amboyna, and is holden, as well by some authors of our owne nation as others, for damnable. How pertinently is this matter of Pressing alleaged, for iustifying of their tortures, since no man in England is pressed for not confessing, which is the cause of torture in Dutchland? But the cause why any is pressed, is, for that he obstinately refuseth the tryall of his countrey, and challengeth the Iudges as incompetent, which the Law appointeth him: which hee doth (for the most part) to saue his goods, which, but by that ordinarie course of tryall, cannot be confiscate. What is this to the point of confession, for refusall whereof, the Dutch vse the Torture? And yet no man blameth them for proceeding according to the Law of their countrey herein; nor yet in their execution, when they breake the legges, armes and thighes of the ma-

lefactors, and then set them vpon a wheele on the end of a great pole, there to languish to death: an execution farre more direfull than the English presing, which is so suddenly done, and so seldome vsed. But why doth he not name the Author of our owne or foraine Writers, which condemne this kinde of execution? Let him do it yet, and he shall haue moe Authors of his owne Countrey, that condemne their course of tortures: and yet the English complain not of the course in generall, but of the vnlawfull vse of it; contrary to the rules of the Lawes euen of the vnited Prouinces. Lastly, in this point the Author pretendeth, that little or no torture was vsed in this Processe. What the torture was, and in what degree, appears in the English Relation: but he can find little or none mentioned in the Acts. What if he will not find it? or what if their Officers of Amboyna haue conceal'd it? shall we not beleeue those that suffred it themselues? shall we not beleeue those, that beeing themselues acquitted, yet heard the cryes, and saw the bodies of *Iohnson*, *Clarke*, and *Tomson*, and haue confirmed their relation by their corporall oathes? As for the Act of the fiue & twentith of February, which this Authour hath here transcribed; it cannot be a true Act: for therein it is said, that that day all the English were examined one by one, and some before torture, and some after confessed the fact. Whereas it appeareth not onely by the English Relation, but by this very Author in the precedent page, that they were not all examined the same fiue and twentith day of February; but that the examination continued six daies together, euen to the third of March inclusiue. How then could the Act of the fiue and twentith of Febru-

February haue all their confessions? By this may appeare, what credit may be giuen to these Acts, or else to this Author. Here also by the way he tels vs of the deliberation of their Councell; whether the punishment of the fact might be respited, or the cause remoued: wherein it was resolued, that execution must needs be done in the place of the delict, for example sake; and might not bee respited, for feare left the conspirators (as hee tearmes them) might haue moe dependances than yet were knowne; and in particular, the Ternatans and other Indians about Amboyna. A poore pretext: as if, hauing all the English in irons aboard their seuerall ships, they should need to fear their joyning with the Ternatans. But it may be, they feared some English ships also to come thither: for so they had made their owne people beleeue. And therefore, two ships being descried at sea, the Dutch and their free Burghers cried out, That there were the English that should haue holpen to take the Castle: but when they arriued, they proued to bee two shippes of the Hollanders come from Iaccatra; wherein was a Letter from the President of the English there, to call away Captain *Towerson* and all the English from Amboyna to Iaccatra. Which Letter was opened and read by the Dutch Gouernor, while our people were yet in prison, and not executed; and might well haue secured him, that there was no further danger to bee feared of the English aids of shipping, what-euer the English prisoners had through torture confessed.

At last the Author comes to the sentence it selfe, transcribing out of the Acts of the ninth of March, That the Colledge of Iudges being then competent,

and calling vpon the name of the Lord to assist them in this mournfull assembly, to preside in their hearts, and inspire them with equity and iustice; proceeded to sentence, &c. Who knoweth not, but the Act may be thus formed, and yet no prayer at all made: or if there were any such prayer, yet the proceedings well weighed, will shew it to be but like *Iezabels* Fast, the preparatiue to the false iudgement against *Naboth*. Neyther will the wise and indifferent Iudges of this whole matter, conceiue the better of the cause, for the hypocriticall formalities therein obserued.

S Last of all, he concludes his treatise with a iustification, yea an Elogie and commendation of the whole proceedings of the Dutch at Amboyna against the English; not finding the least to be blamed in the Dutch, but aggrauating the crime of the English very ridiculously, because (forsooth) that this plot among other things, was against the wealth & aduantage of the Netherlands East India company: as if a conspiracy of this kinde (if any such had bin) must needs bee treason; or as if the intent onely in any crime but treason, were capitall.

Thus haue we examined this strained iustification of that most barbarous and execrable processe of Amboyna; consisting of a preamble, full of false and forged suspicions; a narration of the fact, fraught with ridiculous absurdities, contrarieties, and impossibilities; & lastly, of a dispute of impertinences, with concealement of the maine grounds of the English griefs. All which verifieth that of *Papinian*, That Parricides are more easily committed than defended.

FINIS.

A

REMONSTRANCE OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE NETHERLANDS

East India Company, presented to the *Lords States Generall* of the vnited Provinces, in defence of the said Companie, touching the bloudy proceedings against the *English* Merchants, executed at *Amboyna*.

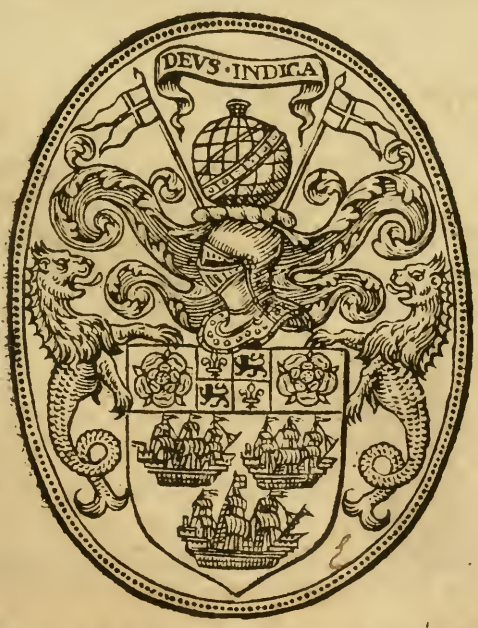
TOGETHER,

With the Acts of the Processe, against the sayd ENGLISH.

AND

The Reply of the English East India *Company, to the said Remonstrance and Defence.*

Published by Authority.



Printed at *London* by *John Dawson*, for the *East India* Company, 1632.

A MONSTRANCE OF THE DIRECTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS

¶ *To the Reader.*

Gentle Reader,

THe Remonſtrance *of the* Netherlands East India *Company, hereafter in the firſt place following, was by the ſame Company preſented to the* Lord States Generall, *of the vnited Prouinces: in* November, Anno 1624. *for Anſwere of the Relation of the* Engliſh East India *Company, touching the vnjuſt, cruell, and barbarous proceeding againſt the* Engliſh *at* Amboyna, *and for juſtification of that infamous proceſſe, the Coppie of which Remonſtrance being imparted to the ſayd* Engliſh *Company, they forth-with writ the ſubſequent Reply, and ſent the ſame to be preſented to the ſaid* Lords States Generall, *for a counter-poyſon againſt the ſaid Remonſtrance: At that time the* Engliſh *Company intended not to haue publiſht it in Print, thereby to make ſo many Iudges of the cauſe as now they muſt, but vpon faire hope then giuen them out of the* Netherlands *truſted (by the juſtice of the* Lords States Generall, *joyned with that of their owne Soueraigne) to obtaine an iſſue of this cauſe, according to the merits thereof. But the Ambaſſadour of the ſaid* Lords States *being here in* England, *in* Iune 1625. *and moued by his Majeſtie for ſatisfaction for the liues of his Subjects, that were ſo treache-*

rouſly butchered by theirs at Amboyna, *as alſo for reſtitution of their goods ſo made forfeit, and recompence for the damage of the* Engliſh *Company, by this and other actions, vſed ſuch excuſe and cullor (as it ſeemeth out of the ground of this Remonſtrance: (which after many proviſionall diſputes finally concludeth for delay of tryall) that at the laſt, in* September *the ſame yeare, they obtained of his Majeſtie a reſpit of* 18. *moneths for the calling home of the Governour* Harman van Speult, *and the reſt of the Iudges in the ſayd bloudy proceſſe, from out of the* Indies, *to anſwere the matter here themſelues, and for ſatisfaction of all the other Complaints of the* Engliſh *Company. To whom although this reſpit was irkeſome, having already borne ſo long delay, in a cauſe of ſuch impatient nature; as alſo having a ſuſpition of the ſiniſter intent of the* Dutch *Companie: in this new reſpit; nevertheleſſe conſidering, that this was a favour craved by the ſaid* Lords States *in their firſt Ambaſſage to his Majeſtie, and their very congratulation of his happy ſucceſſe to his rightfull Crownes, they held it their duty to conforme themſelues to his Majeſties grace herein. As alſo the ſame* Engliſh *Company having confidence in the ſincere dealing of the* Lords States Generall, *whoſe Letter of the 31. of* December. 1624. *for calling home of the ſayd bloudy* Governour *and others, was committed to their conveyance, and by them ſent into the* Indies, *hoped that their remedy though ſlow and long, would yet at laſt be ſure, and ſerious. and ſo they put on a new patience, and expectation of ſome iſſue of this likely courſe. But having waited out this reſpit, which expired, ſome years now paſt, they finde all things fall out contrary to their hope ſo grounded vpon the* Lords States *promiſe and Letter, but altogether verifying*

fying their ſuſpition of the drift of the Netherlands *Company before mentioned. For the ſaid Letter of the* Lords States *being by the* Engliſh Preſident *at* Iacatra, *ſafely delivered to* Carpentier, Governour Generall *of the* Dutch, *in the* Indies, *he* (*when* Harman van Speult *the late* Governour *of* Amboyna, *and head of the bloudy treachery againſt the* Engliſh *there*) *arrived at* Iacatra) *received him with great honour, yea with triumph, and inſtead of ſending him for* Europe, *to anſwere the complaints of the* Engliſh, *according to the direction and commandments of the* Lords States, *by their ſayd Letter; made him cheife Commander of a fleete of ſhips, ſent from thence to* Surat, *and other Northerne parts of the* Indies. *The* Engliſh *Preſident and Councell at* Iacatra, *in vaine proteſting here-againſt, and vrging his remiſſion to* Europe, *in conſequence of the Letter of the* Lords States *aforeſayd. Neither haue the Officers of the ſayd* Netherlands *Company in the* Indies, *in all that reſpit of* 18 *moneths, nor in all the time ſince, made any reſtitution or reparation to the* Engliſh *as was promiſed and pretended, nor any preparation thereunto, but rather haue added new grievances. So that it now plainely appeareth, that the ſayd* Netherlands Eaſt India *Company, in their earneſt ſuite to the* Lords States, *to procure his Majeſtie to giue reſpit for the due tryall of the cauſe of* Amboyna, *inſerted in the latter end of this enſuing Remonſtrance; intended nothing leſſe then ſuch a true tryall, but a cooling and blunting of the edge and zeale of the* Engliſh *Company, in purſuing of their due remedies, hoping* (*as it is in the fable of him, that vndertooke to teach the Aſſe to ſpeake*) *that in long delay and reſpit of time ſomething might happen, vtterly to elude and fruſtrate the reall performance: In the meane*

time, beſides the goods of the Engliſh *that they detaine, they enioy the whole trade of the* Mulluccoes, Banda, *and* Amboyna, *the true, though wretched motive of their abhominable proceſſe, againſt the Innocents, and haue raiſed the Nutmegs, Maces, Cloues, (being by this meanes ſolely in their owne hands) to more then double the price of that they were at, in theſe parts, when the* Engliſh *had their ſhare in them. Whereby it appeareth how ſincerely this following* Remonſtrance *ſlighteth this matter as a poore end, though it ſo much enrich the* Dutch *Company; as likewiſe how much, not onely the whole Realme of* ENGLAND, *but euen all the Kingdomes and Common wealths in* Europe, *that are thus ſerued with thoſe Spices at ſuch high rates, are intereſſed in this cauſe. And yet beſides all the premiſes, the* Engliſh *Company finde another and more proper cauſe of their recourſe to the preſſe at this preſent, otherwiſe for all the reſt they could perhaps attend other remedies. But they finde that in this Interim, of the cauſe and motiues whereof the world could take no notice, many not onely of the* Dutch, *but* Engliſh *alſo, begin to conceiue worſe of the* Engliſh *cauſe: preſuming that if it had beene ſuch as the diſcourſes formerly publiſhed in this argument imported, they thinke certainely, ere this, to haue heard of ſome exemplary puniſhment vpon ſo execrable a fact, or at leaſt of ſome ſerious preparation thereunto. In particuler the* Engliſh *Company vnderſtand, that ſome of the bloudy Colledge of Iudges, being returned into the* Low Countries, *and liuing free, and well countenanced there, haue of late, vpon confidence (as it ſeemes) of the effectuall working of their eluſory Artifice, craked and vaunted, that they will juſtifie their proceſſe of* Amboyna, *euen to the face of his Majeſtie, (which are their owne*

facing

facing words) although the same parties at their first arrivall in Holland; *kept themselues close, and were not knowne where to be found, when the Ministers of this State sought after them. Which bold face being put vpon this bad matter, hath so farre countenanced the same, as that some of our owne Nation there, allied to the* Dutch, *haue in private stept vp in defence of the sayd barbarous butchery, and seeme at least to thinke the matter aggravated above the true desert, Wherefore least the poore innocent* English *that haue already suffered so many and so grievous tortures, and afterwards a reproachfull death, should now againe after death, suffer in their good names also, which is, or ought to be, dearer then life it selfe, least also the* English East India *Company, that haue likewise suffered too many indignities, and such damages from the* Dutch, *should seeme to haue made a great cry without as just a cause; They now finde it high time to vindicate their owne reputation, and the fame of their innocent servants and Country-men, by accquainting the world with the true state of the businesse, as also to defend and maintaine their former true relation from the exceptions taken against it, by this following Remonstrance of the* Dutch; *And because the Acts of the processe of* Amboyna, *are often mentioned, as well in this Remonstrance, as in the Reply thereunto, the same also are inserted betweene both, to cleare the relatiue passages on both parts.*

(·.·)

A REMONSTRANCE of the Bewinthebbers or Directors of the Netherlands *East India* Company, lately exhibited to the Lords States Generall, in justification of the proceedings of their Officers at *Amboyna*, against the *English* there.

Translated out of French.

High and mighty Lords:

THE Directors of the vnited Company and Societie of the *East Indies*, did in the moneth of *July* last past, present vnto your Honours a Deduction concerning that which was past in the Province of *Amboyna*, and of the execution there made in *March* 1623. with a provisionall answer of the Objections which then were made and knowne against it: But where this Cause by that meanes could not be ended, and for as much as daily there are found and spred abroad great Bruits against that which is mentioned in the Deduction aforesaid; therefore the said *Di-*

rectors in regard of their charge and office, as alſo for the defence of their Servants, ſo farre as reaſon permitteth, and not to be thought deſtitute and naked of good defence, yea that they may not leaue the matter for condemned, as divers haue ſpred abroad, and gladly would make the world beleeue, cannot forbeare to make, after due reverence, this more particular Inſtruction in forme of Remonſtrance vnto yours Honours.

A. In the firſt place then the *Directors* doe yet perſiſt in their ſaid Deduction, becauſe the ſame may ſerue to giue light to the whole cauſe: And conſidering the waighty and infallible Inditia and evidence that preceded this diſcovery of the Treaſon of certaine *Engliſh*, yea the ſame being notorious, as alſo the proceedings which haue legally and according to Law paſſed againſt the Confederates, as appeareth by the Iudiciall Acts (ſigned as well by thoſe which were examined, as by the Councell of *Amboyna* which is a Colledge admitted and ſworne) and againſt which no proofe, much leſſe any vaine and frivolous ſuſpition ſhould bee admitted. They the *Directors* abſolutely beleeue (ſo long as they ſee no more to the contrary) that the ſaid *Engliſh* Conſpirators and other Confederates which were in our ſervice, were well apprehended, and the fact (in our opinions) ſo well proved according to Law, and the vſe & cuſtome in ſuch caſe obſerved, the proceedings haue been legall, & in purſuit therof the puniſhment which they haue ſuſtained was inflicted according to the common Law, with good moderation of the rigour of Iuſtice & with clemency. Notwithſtā-

B.

ding

ding there haue beene many Writings and Deductions, as the *Directors* vntill this time perceiue and diſcover, ſowed and ſpred againſt this cauſe as well in *England* as in theſe parts: among which (for as much as we know) the firſt is a ſummary of Newes out of Letters dated the 19. of *Iune* 1623. writtē by the *Engliſh* Factors at *Batavia*, which immediately will be judged by every one who never ſo little and ſuperficially ſhall read the ſame, to be full of paſſion contrary to the Truth, and without any proofe: For firſt the proceeding by the Iuſtice at *Amboyna* vpon the Confederates there, is blamed therein, and by prejudication called an vnjuſt Murder, wicked and barbarous, the faſhion and manner of the racke or torture likewiſe deſcribed, and exaggerated with great vehemency and paſſion: And alſo it is not true that therein is ſaid, that the other *Indians* (beſides the *Engliſh*) confederates in the fact were ſervants of the *Engliſh* Company, whereas it appeareth otherwiſe, to wit, that the *Indian* confederates were Servants of the *Dutch* Company, as is well knowne to be true; and yet this writing hath taken great place amongſt great and ſmall, and hath beene ſhewed as a patterne or modell wherevpon the other griefes haue beene formed againſt the ſaid Iuſtice of *Amboyna*. Vpon which incontinently followed a more large and ample Writing called *The true Relation of the cruell and barbarous torture and execution committed by the Flemmings vpon the Engliſh in* Amboyna. C.

In the Introduction whereof proceedeth impertinently a deſcription of *Amboyna*, and of the Gariſon

and force of the *Dutch* in the ſame place, and this onely to the end, as appeareth, to ſhow therby that there is no appearance that the *Engliſh* ſhould conſult of the taking of the ſaid place as a thing impoſſible; As if, by reaſon of the ſmall vnderſtanding and ſimple foundation which the Conſpirators had to put their deſigne in execution and in effect (omitting all other accuſations) they had not in any kind merited and deſerved any puniſhment: the contrary wherof appeareth to be practiſed daily in the like
D. crimes; And to cite this preſumption vnto the annihilating of a truth ſo notorious and proved, and againſt the proper confeſſions of the executed and other Confederates, againſt the conſcience and teſtimony of ſo many honeſt men and of credit, which haue been imployed in the cauſe, and againſt a Colledge of Iudges publicke and ſworne, this cannot in any manner be admitted, received, nor had in conſideration by ſuch as haue vnderſtanding in theſe af-
E. faires. But to the contrary, and beſides all the reaſons aforegoing, the *Dutch* Company hath made it to appeare by good proofes, that the *Engliſh* to the end to divert and get forth of the Caſtle the forces of the *Dutch*, had in the Countries and Ilands therabouts ſtirred vp, induced, and cauſed to rebell, all the *Ternatanes*, *Ceraniens*, and the *Indian* Nations bordering there, openly and by publicke violence to make ſuch vnaccuſtomed outrages vpon the Subjects of the Caſtle, that the Governor might be conſtrained to goe forth from thence with all his forces for to appeaſe and quiet the ſaid Rebells, and to bring them to their ancient obedience. And there-

vpon

vpon the *English* should haue assayled and invaded the Castle and the Towne (as being destitute by the retyring and departure of the Army) then when the *Dutch* should be most feeble and in their greateſt necessitie as well of men as of *Dutch* ships, which should haue beene imployed in this voyage. And F.
concerning the force of the English which were in *Amboyna*, they alone would not haue enterprised the attempt, but would vnto this purpose haue called vnto them all the slaves which they had in great number in their Factories: Neither would they haue begun the same before the arrivall of certaine *English* shippes in *Amboyna*: The people whereof they would also haue set on worke and imployed to the attempt: The retinue also, which daily the complices did vnder-hand procure (as *Gabriell Towerson* Cape Merchant of the *English* had ordered, should haue beene much augmented, the rebell subjects of the Castle should haue weakned the force of the *Dutch*, and augmented the force of the conspirators; And further (which is the principall point) the end and designe of the Conspirators was not to force and constraine the Castle (onely) by violence, open war, or siege, (to which purpose all these imagined fortresses of the Castle, and the power of the *Dutch*, might haue their consideration) but the plot, was to invade the Castle by Treason, and with the ayd and G.
assistance of the *Iaponian* Souldiers which were then in the service of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* aforesaid: which small number of *Iaponians* were not slightly to be regarded, in respect of the valour & prowesse of that Nation, and their extraordinary resolutiō in

hazarding their liues in any dangerous enterprises; Insomuch as a certaine small number of the *Iaponians*, only of themselues and without any aide or support, haue vndertaken and accomplished the most great attempts and designes in places of the greatest and most puissant government in the *Indies*. As among other things it appeareth by that which passed in the kingdome of *Patany*: where certaine *Iaponians* forced and pillaged the Towne, afterwards made their retreat in good order and with good composition. And in the Kingdome of *Siam* in the Town called *Iodea*, full of thousands of persons, the King whereof himselfe can in a short time bring into the field aboue one hundred thousand men of armes, and heretofore obtained great victories vpon many great Princes his neighbours, who then were and as yet are of great power; in that Towne (I say) which is the capitall Towne of the Kingdome, certaine *Iaponians* surprized first the Castle and Royall Palace, and being entered thereinto by force, afterwards they tooke the King in person prisoner, they kept him in their custody, and being wholly become masters of the said Castle, they made by meanes of threatnings (as to put the King to death, and otherwise) an honourable and advantageous composition: By which the said small number of *Iaponians* went away & departed without any domage out of the Kingdome of *Siam*, with great glory and magnanimity, and very great riches. Which exploits are without comparison much more great and dangerous then the said attempt of *Amboyna*, against an open Town and a Castle empty and naked of forces,

into

into which alſo the *Iaponians* might haue their daily acceſſe with the *Engliſh* who were held and reputed for friends: So that whatſoever is mentioned in the Deduction of the *Engliſh* vpon this preſumptiõ, to draw into a doubt all the actions of the Confederates, is altogether without foundation, in a cauſe ſo notorious and publikely convinced. Of the like force and efficacy is that which is ſet downe before in the ſaid *Engliſh* Deduction, as if the Dutch had no other deſigne by this imputation of Treaſon, but to thruſt forth the *Engliſh* out of *Amboyna*, and to remaine ſole Maſters of the Trade in thoſe quarters: But if ſuch had beene the intention of the Dutch Company, they might eaſier and with more apparance and pretext haue forborne to receiue and admit the *Engliſh* at the beginning in *Amboyna*, in the yeare 1620. then haue thruſt them forth in ſuch a manner: and God forbid that any one ſhould vndertake to perform or effect ſuch a thing by ſuch vnjuſt and maligne proceedings, and with ſuch effuſſion of bloud, onely to thruſt forth the *Engliſh* from *Amboyna*. And concerning the *Dutch* Company here in *Europe*, never any ſuch thing came into their thoughts, nor did they ever giue any Commiſſion for the putting forth of the *Engliſh*, by warrant whereof the Officers of the ſaid place in generall might haue had ground to begin any thing to ſuch an end. And concerning the Officers themſelues, they are by thoſe that know them, eſteemed & reputed to be honeſt and worthy men: who in like manner would no wayes entertaine a thought of ſuch an Action.

H.

I.

And

And to say the Truth, why should the Officers with such feigned wrong accuse & put to death the *English* and the Confederates being innocent: seeing that (as aforesaid) they had no Commission, and if they had any given them (which cannot be well imagined) yet the Governor and Counsell of *Amboyna* are such people as would not haue yeelded or given obedience therevnto. And the same Governour nor other Iudges which are fourteene in number, could not haue drawne any profit or advantage by their so doing. For admit it were so that the *English* came in this regard for to leaue *Amboyna*, this could no wayes advantage them in their particular; but to the contrary, returning vnto *Europe*, they themselues should be (besides the burthen and remorse of their owne Consciences) charged and aggravated with great blame and infamy, hatred and malice, and put in great danger of their persons; So that, of such a thing they could not expect otherwise then detriment, disadvantage and disgrace, yea punishment and chastisement vpon themselues. Now if this be not so, then may not this presumption of the *English* be true, nor in any wise admitted and received, who maintaine and inhumanely say, that this molestation and destruction was offered and done to the *English*, to the end to deliver and free *Amboyna* of them, and to retaine it onely by the *Dutch*. For the *Dutch* Company doe declare the amity of the *English* Company to be vnto them of chiefe and speciall importance, and they desire for to enjoy the same with all confidence; And furthermore wee could produce and alleadge many

many reaſons why we yet deſire that the treatie being religiouſly and piouſly obſerved from the one part to the other, we could willingly and gladly be content to giue way to the rate and portion in Trade permitted to the *Engliſh* Company by the Treaty of the yeare 1619. without by excluſion of the *Engliſh* (the Treaty being by them obſerved) to acknowledge or thinke of any profit or aduantage in generall or in particular.

We vndertake further for our officers of *Amboyna*, (as alſo it is true) that the beginning and entrance of this proceeding beganne vpon vehement and well grounded ſuſpitions againſt the firſt *Iaponian* in our ſervice, who walking at vndue houres vpon the Bulwarkes of the Caſtle, and inquiring very curiouſly of the force and conſtitution of the Gariſon and ſetting of the watch, was apprehended, and preſently the clew of this great and execrable conſpiracy was opened and diſcovered, as the *Engliſh* Deduction it ſelfe confeſſeth. K.

And if the *Dutch* had deſigned and vndertaken (as moſt calumniouſly it is ſuſpected and reported) to thruſt the *Engliſh* out of *Amboyna*, by the vnjuſt report and accuſation of their ſervants there, without any appearance of any true conſpiracy: why did this *Iaponian* come vpon the walls, and ſo curiouſly enquire, and alſo being apprehended and examined ſo pertinently, ſpeake of the conſpiracie? If this *Iaponian* had bin a perſon ſuborned for to charg and accuſe the *Engliſh*, the *Dutch* would not haue executed him; which yet legally followed, whereby it appeareth that his declaration and teſtimony was

true, as well in accuſing the other *Iaponians* his fellowes which were in our ſervice, as in the charge of the other *Engliſh*, and of himſelfe: why alſo were the other *Iaponians* indicted and executed, if the *Dutch* ſought it but onely vpon the *Engliſh*, as is without colour pretended? for the *Iaponians* haue ever been in good eſteeme with vs, and haue alwaies beene much truſted, and not having any occaſſion of malice, or rancor, or feare of them, or againſt them; where now to the contrary by this tranſgreſſion it behoveth our nation to be alwaies in miſtruſt of the *Iaponians*, and not ſo confidently to vſe or be ſerved of them as before. And it ought not to ſeem ſtrange that during this examination of theſe *Iaponians* (which as aforeſaid, was begunne and ended before any thing was done to the *Engliſh*) that the *Engliſh*
L. for the ſpace of three or foure dayes (although herein they ſpare the truth) were ſo forward and ſo bold as to goe in and out, to and from the Caſtle: For they thought that it would tend and ſerue vnto their conſervatiõ, to the end they might giue the leſſe ſuſpition: for they had fled away, & hidden or concealed themſelues, in ſuch caſe they had bin publikely diſcovered. And if they had thought or would haue attempted to flye, it was impoſſible for them ſo to doe, for the Governor and Councell had given order all about for the aſſurance of the place, and of all perſons which frequented and had any intercourſe of Merchandizes in *Amboyna*, of which the *Engliſh* complices could not be ignorant; ſo that they were conſtrained to put on a good face, cheere, and countenance, the better to ſhunne the perill and danger.

But

But it further appeareth that that which the *Engliſh* maintaine is abuſiue and erroneous; that they had continued three or foure dayes in going to and from the Caſtle after the ſaid impriſonment, and during the examination of the *Iaponians*: For they beganne to examine the *Iaponians* the 24. of February, & the 25. the *Engliſh* were arreſted, ſo that there was but one day between them both, and therefore that which is mentioned in the *Engliſh* Deduction is not true. Alſo for the confeſſion of the firſt *Iaponian*, as likewiſe of all the reſt of the *Iaponians* vnto the number of twelue, they do not onely accuſe the *Engliſh*, but themſelues alſo; ſo that there cannot be any ſuſpition or doubt of falſe accuſation, ſeeing that they themſelues could not haue any advantage in the preſervation of their owne perſons; as otherwiſe there can be no ſuſpition of calumny: which in ſuch a caſe could not be, nor happen in any faſhion or manner. *M.*

That which is contained in the *Engliſh* Deduction, to wit, that the *Engliſh* had never kept any converſation with the *Iaponians*, appeareth to the contrary by the Acts of the Proceſſe and the confeſſions of all and particularly of *Towerſon*, made without Torture or Fetters, long after his examination. So that from theſe contrarieties, and diſſimulations are diſcovered, many other ſignes & tokens for to beleeue that the *Engliſh* Deduction doth wander and ſtray very much from the truth, and that all which may be conſtrued to the contrary is true, in conſequence of that which the *Dutch* Company of the *Eaſt Indies* doe ſuſtaine in the juſt defence of their Officers and Miniſters. *N.*

O. But that whereby the said Deduction is enlarged and amplified, is to make mention and discover many particularities, which in time hereafter shalbe refuted and proved to be matter meerely fained in the most part of the most important and substantiall points: as also in that which they speake of the racke and torture given to the *English*, which is described in particulars contrary to the truth, therby to moue the Reader to pitty. But when they haue said all, it is but a bare and naked discourse without proofe, that the *English* haue beene tortured and racked: for to giue the torture when the case so requireth, is no fault of the Iudge, but it is a thing customable throughout *Europe*, and so in the *Low-countries*; And if such torture hath beene given to some of the *English*, it was surely done vpon good and pregnant euidence, and weighty proofes, and confessions of others, whereof some may haue beene brought to a more rigorous examination, according to the exigence of the case, without doing or executing any injustice.

P. If also the Iudges of the *Dutch* would haue wrongfully pressed and constrained the *English* to confession by torture, wherefore did they not presse and constraine them all to confession: which nevertheless appeareth by the Deduction of the *English*, not to haue beene done, and that many were let passe without torture; yea many of them which the *English* Deduction abusiuely affirmeth to haue beene tortured: it being not reasonable to proceed against them as against others, which were charged with more great and vehement suspitions and proofes.

And

And if they proceeded herein with ſuch exceſſe, how commeth it then that the Iudges pardoned and diſcharged ſome (as faulty as the reſt) but onely to giue teſtimony of their proceedings, and that the juſtice thereof might fully appeare to all whomſoever? which otherwiſe they were not bound to doe nor would haue done in all likelihood. Q.

But to winne the Reader by compaſſion, the manner of the torture is there very finely and prolixely ſet downe: but who knoweth not that the manner and faſhion of the extraordinary queſtion is in it ſelf rough and harſh, and ſpecially muſt ſeeme ſo to the *Engliſh* in *England* (where there is no ſuch kind of torture vſed, vnleſſe it be in caſe of high Treaſon) how moderate and gentle ſoever it be, as the paine of the torture of the water, which is much more ciuil, & leſſe dangerous then other tortures of ſtretching or preſſing, which is in divers manners vſed in *Europe*: for ſuch torture and paine of water doth but cauſe and produce an oppreſſion and anxiety of breath, and reſpiration, and not the ſwelling of the body of the Patients (as is abuſiuely mentioned in the *Engliſh* Deduction) and is without fraction, bruiſing, or mutilation of the members, which others are ſubject vnto: So that all which is compriſed and contained in the ſame deſcription, is onely ſet down for the embelliſhing and adorning of the ſaid Writing, to the end onely to moue the Reader to compaſſion, to make him inſenſibly to draw in and ſwallow all the other errours and vntruths vnder theſe cloſe conueighances, and giue them credit to the advantage of the drift of the ſaid Deduction: R.

But he which to the contrary will found and search out the truth, and whether that which is therein declared and related bee proved, and ought to be admitted and received or not, let him bee pleased further to obserue, as followeth.

That all which is said therein is without proofe, and if that any proofe be found therein, it is of very few persons, yea such as in a cause that concerneth themselues, and wherein they were once judicially convinced, may not bee admitted for witnesses against the Iudge, and the proceedings past against themselues, nor against the legall confession which they once and oftener made and confirmed with their owne subscription, which now by other depositions or particular declarations, cannot be made vaine and elusory against the testimony and certificate of foureteene Iudges, who were present in and at all passages, whose reputation and wisedome is so well known, that such wicked, vnorderly and vnjust proceedings as the *English* pretend, may not be in any sort or manner charged or imputed vpon them.

S. Lastly, concerning certaine Declarations and Writings of the condemned *English* before their death, wherby they haue protested their innocency, and that they were judged wrongfully, whereupon by presumption is inferred that it must be true, because it is not to be beleeved that any one was so wicked and impious as to dare to faine and dissemble at the houre of his death.

This Argument maketh little in the cause; for first it ought to appear that there are indeed such Declarations and Writings of the *English*: But the truth

can

can be teſtified by them which were preſent, and about them at all times, that there is no ſuch thing; much leſſe that which is ſaid concerning certaine pretended miracles which had happened in witneſſe of the innocency of the executed, ſo that it may well ſeeme that they had moved heaven and earth to hide and conceale this deteſtable deed: but howſoever it be, who would preſume that honeſt men of reputation and wiſdome, known & publicke, would haue ſhown themſelues ſo impious and vnhumane, as wrongfully and innocently to accuſe the perſons executed: and much leſſe it cannot bee preſumed vnto the charge of a Colledge eſtabliſhed and ſworne.

And although that which is aforeſaid appeare and be knownfirſt by the truth of the thing, as it is caried by the Deduction aforegoing, preſented in *Iuly* paſt vnto your Honours; and that ſecondly it is credible that by this writing here were broke and decided all objections and difficulties inferred by the *Engliſh*, as alſo ſome acts allead ged, which in regard of the *Engliſh* might be produced & alledged againſt that which is aforeſaid, and againſt the Legality of the proceedings in *Amboyna*, in ſuch manner that more cannot be required in juſtification of the behaviors of the *Dutch* Officers: So it is that the *Directors* notwithſtanding find it neceſſary (although ſuperfluous) to repeat and make mention here, of many particularities, which much more fully, & all at a blow, do ſhew that the reports ſpred and ſworn, with ſuch vehemency by the *Engliſh* againſt the truth, do contrary the one the other, ſo that nothing more can be had

T.

had nor reſt of ſuſpition, whereby the proceedings and executions at *Amboyna* may be accuſed, much leſſe condemned,& in conſequence likewiſe, which the great haſte and aſſiduall precipitation vſed herein,hath been wholly done in poſte,for to learne and ſhew the world the truth of the diſcovery in the buſineſſe ; as hereafter ſhall appeare more clearely and evident.

In the firſt place then, ſo it is,that the Companie after the firſt Deduction of *Iuly*,haue further vnderſtood by the laſt Ships out of *Batavia*, arrived here in September, and that by Certificate or Atteſtatiõ depoſed by M. *Fredericke de Houtman*,chiefe Councellor of the *Indies*, and ancient Governour of the Iſles of *Muloques*;that it was firmly and vndoubtedly beleeved in *Amboyna*,throughout & of everyone, yea by himſelfe as he yet doth beleeve,that the *Engliſh* of the ſaid place,and the *Iaponians*,had truly and really conſpired to invade the Caſtle of *Amboyna* at their beſt opportunity ; ſo that none ought in any wiſe to doubt thereof.

Secondly,for ſtrong proofe of that which is aforeſaid,the ſaid Governor *de Houtman*,comming from the *Moloques* to *Hitto* in *Amboyna* in the moneth of April, *anno* 1623. a certaine *Engliſhman* called *George Sharock*, Aſſiſtant, (which before had beene alſo priſoner,and examined vpon the ſaid conſpiracie,and by favour releaſed & pardoned by the Governour and Councell of *Amboyna*, notwithſtanding that the ſaid *Sharock* was a good while privy to the ſaid Conſpiracy, & had promiſed his aſſiſtance) kneeling down vpon his knees and proſtrating himſelfe

ſelfe before the feet of the ſaid Governour *de Houtman*, (who looked for no ſuch matter) declared with great zeale and good affection, that hee was and ſhould bee all his life time bound and obliged vnto the *Dutch* Company, becauſe (as hee then againe confeſſed) that favour had beene done to him, and hee was left vnpuniſhed for the fault and offence which he had committed and perpetrated; and this was ſpoken by the ſaid *George Sharock*, to the ſaid *de Houtman*, about the 20. of April 1623. when he was already abſolved, releaſed, freed, and out of all feare to be any more moleſted, or queſtioned for the ſaid fact and offence committed as aforeſaid.

Thirdly, the ſaid Governour *de Houtman* being at *Batavia*, and being preſent when *Iohn Beomont Engliſh* Merchant, (who alſo was a confederate in the ſaid conſpiracy at *Amboyna*, and obtained his pardon) being ſicke, was brought before the Governor generall; and the ſaid *Beomont* being come in the preſence of the ſaid Governor generall, and of the ſaid M. *Houtman*, confeſſed his fault before made and committed, and implored, and moſt humbly deſired mercy and pardon of the ſaid Generall, which having obtained, he humbly thanked them.

In the fourth place, That many people at *Batavia*, yea he the *Deponent* himſelfe had by good information and knowledge, certainly vnderſtood, that the ſaid *Iohn Beomont* being afterwards come before the *Engliſh* Preſident and *Engliſh* Merchants reſident at *Batavia*, hee the ſaid *Beomont* recited and confeſſed the whole buſineſſe and conſpiracy: But when this pleaſed not the ſaid *Engliſh*, the Preſident of the

Engliſh aforeſaid, for to obſcure the cauſe, and to ſhunne the diſhonour of the Treaſon, ſeeing the free confeſſion of *Beomont* which much aſtoniſhed them, he cauſed him for this cauſe to keep cloſe and not to ſpeake to any body, becauſe that the thing by the voluntary confeſſion of the ſaid *Beomont* againſt the intent of the *Engliſh* principalls, ſhould not further be diſcovered and confirmed.

Fiftly, concerning the perſons which were imployed as Iudges in the cauſe of *Amboyna* in the matter of the condemned, and ſpecially the Governour *Van Speult* (becauſe hee is beſt knowne) they are ſuch, that there cannot be any the leaſt ſuſpition or doubt of them, that they had wrongfully or without ſufficient ground cauſed the *Engliſh* to be accuſed, or ill handled, or much leſſe to bee put to death, if they had not beene found really in fault, worthily to haue deſerved the puniſhment: the Governour *Van Speult* being held for an honeſt man, of credit, and fearing God, by all thoſe that haue converſed with him: and by conſequence, there may not bee admitted ſuch a contrary ſuſpition of his impious and maligne proceedings.

In the fift place, concerning the Torture of Water, which the *Dutch* haue alwayes vſed in the *Indies*, as the moſt aſſured and civill: which is not a torture ſo rough and dangerous as the tortures which are ordinarily vſed in this Country, and throughout *Europe*, which are farre more ſevere and dangerous then that of Water; whereby the health of the perſon cannot any way be offended, nor the membrs lamed or bruiſed.

All

All which things aforeſaid, in repreſentation and maintenance of the truth in this caſe, and which further might be in conformity of what is aforeſaid, repreſented by the comming and arriving of many other perſons out of the *Indies*, who alſo haue knowledge of that which paſſed at *Amboyna*: May it pleaſe your Honors to take into conſideration, and to conſider whether there bee not ſufficient matter and cauſe given to the *Engliſh East Indian* Company, for to leaue and remit the fault vnto them, who were the authors and practiſers of this abominable conſpiracy, & of their owne misfortune, which they thus drew vpon themſelues, and not to defend them, and aggravate againſt the Iudges of the *Dutch*: to which end the *Directors* in defence and maintenance of their Officers, and vnblameable Miniſters in the *East Indies* aforeſaid, cannot omit to beſeech your Honors, that the cauſe may not bee precipitated, but that covenient time might bee given and granted for a more exact reſearch, (if need bee) of the truth, yea in all to grant them ſuch protection, as all good Subjects and Patriots of the Vnited Provinces are to attend from your Honors in equity and juſtice. For how can this buſineſſe be ſo inverted, that in ſtead of the diſhonour and blame which ought to dwel vpon the Confederates, on the contrary now, they will blot and ſmother the truth of the thing, and to accuſe and charg the *Dutch* Officers, as if they had had no honeſty or conſcience: which cannot bee preſumed of ſubſtantiall people, of good renowne, vpon any either voluntarie (though not true) or ſuborned and falſe depoſition, of ſuch as may not be admitted

to teſtifie in their owne cauſe againſt the judiciall Acts of a Colledge of Iudges, ſworne, and in ſo great a number, which haue of a long time beene ſo imployed; when it appeareth not otherwiſe by any other legall proofes.

The intention of the *Directors* never was, nor yet is to maintaine any injuſtice, outrage, or impoſture, if in theſe proceedings there were any vſed: but as long as it appeareth not clearely (as it ought in this caſe, againſt a Colledge, and againſt a cauſe judged) nothing elſe, vnder reverence, can be done in the buſineſſe, but to grant time for to make more exact and ſerious ſearch (if need be,) and that by the authority and intervention of your Honours (as it ſhall appertaine) all miſ-vnderſtanding, contrary Deductions, and ill expoſitions, griefes, and deſignes, may ceaſe and bee ſurpreſſed, vntill ſuch time as the contrary may (if need bee) appeare. The ſaid Defences are ſuch (in our opinion) as vnder reverence this ought to be done. And although it were ſo, that the cauſe of the *Engliſh* againſt the Iudges of *Amboyna* ſeemed wholly to be cleare and proved, (which hitherto hath proved to the contrary) neverthelesſe the proceedings of the ſaid Iudges may not in any wiſe be condemned (as touching the ſubſtance thereof) without hearing the Iudges themſelues, whom the cauſe properly toucheth and concerneth, and not the *Directors*; who onely mediate, for as much as according to the information and knowledge which they haue of the cauſe, it ſeemeth to them to be in effect juſt and faire, and therefore the humble remonſtrance or repreſentation and prayer of the Adminiſtrators

ſtrators, or *Directors*, haue ever beene, that it would pleaſe your Honours to giue and grant convenient time for the inquiry, information, and reſearch of the buſineſſe, vntill ſuch time as the ſhips of *Batavia* ſhall be arrived here; to the end that the matter may more plainly and truely be diſcovered and knowne; and without doubt there will come, and be tranſported therein from thence, ſome that will neutrally and in ſuch ſort maintaine vnto yours Honours, the particular informations of the proceedings paſſed in *Amboyna*, that they may be wholly beleeved and received: as at this preſent there is come, and fallen out by the comming and returne of M. *Fredericke de Houtman*, chief Councellor of the *Indies*, and ancient Governour of the Iſles of *Molucques*, who hath depoſed and by oath teſtified the points in manner as they are recited and related in order as aboue, which bringeth not a little light in this cauſe, but may wholy tend and turne to the overthrow of all contrary expoſitions and calumnies, which heretofore haue beene vſed and ſet forth, with ſuch differences and vehemencie, wherby we hope that your Honors will in all points, and that with equity, right, and reaſon, giue and cauſe to be given ſuch content, that all diſcontent (at leaſt by proviſion) may ceaſe, vntill ſuch time as the whole truth may more and abundantly come to light, by advice from the *Indies*, to the full ſatisfaction of thoſe whom it toucheth or concerneth. For may it pleaſe your Honors to know and vnderſtand, that the beſt and moſt pertinent and true knowledg of the buſineſſe, muſt come from the Province of *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, and from thence

hither. Notwithstanding, so it is, that since the departure of the Pinace called the *Hare* from *Batavia*, which was in the beginning of *Ianuary*, 1624. (by which the first notice of the execution was brought) vntill the departure of the last ships which also came from *Batvia*, there is not, nor cannot haue come any newes from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, concerning this businesse, because the winde called the Westerne Mousſons blow continually from November vntill Aprill. And for to come from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, an Easterne Mousſon is necessary; and that beginneth first in May: so that without that, it is a thing impossible to send or get any advice or ships from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*.

We hope also that your Lordships will finde this reasonable, and that due and reasonable time required shall be granted and permitted in justice, for the more ample search and information of the cause, (if need be) and we cannot conjecture, (being a thing incredible) that any one will condeme any cause or persons, without first hearing the justification of the parties, which alwaies hath beene held and obserued inviolably of all nations, which would judge according to right and equity. Therefore wee hope that it will be thus granted; yea it is not reasonable that any reparation should bee required, before the due defences and informations of the businesse bee made and taken, and the same ought to be made and taken by and from the persons whom the cause concerneth, appertaineth, and is knowne, and who also pertinently know how to refute the objections and circumstances alleadged, and heretofore vrged to the

con-

contrary: which vnto vs is impoſſible, to doe, not having been preſent: but only for the defence of our Officers, for ſo much as is juſt and reaſonable, wee can alleadge that which they haue-written vnto vs from the *Indies*, and what elſe we haue certainly perceived and vnderſtood.

Alſo we cannot in the meane time conceale from your Honours, that the fact of this conſpiracy is ſo notorious in the *Indies*, and that thence may bee drawne ſo ſtrong and vigorous proofes, that the Truth ſhall fully and ſufficiently appeare to the full diſcharge of the innocents, and the confuſion of thoſe which will defend and maintaine a bad cauſe; And this may bee proved there beſides the points aboue alleadged. *W.*

Firſt, that all the *Iaponians*, complices in the conſpiracy haue ſigned each with their own hands their confeſſions, and afterwards jointly and all altogeher haue perſiſted therein after the end of the examination, without torture or fetters, at many ſittings and full aſſemblies of the Councell at *Amboyna*, without revoking any thing, or deſiring to diminiſh or augment any thing from or to their ſaid confeſſions.

In the ſecond place, That the *Engliſh* Complices at ſundry times of their own accord, without paine, irons, tortures, or menaces, ratified the ſame, and reſpectiuely ſigned their confeſſions: vpon which confeſſions, they were afterwards againe examined three or foure times, and re-examined in a full Councell and Aſſembly; and after their examination haue perſiſted therein, without revoking or changing any thing.

Thirdly

Thirdly, that the Governour of *Amboyna* (after that all the complices had reſpectiuely foure or fiue times ratified their confeſſions, and perſiſted therein a little before the execution, ſeriouſly remonſtrated, exhorted, repreſented, and demanded, of the ſaid complices (as before had done vnto them in particular) That in caſe any one of them had by apprehenſion of juſtice, feare of menaces, or terrour of paine, ſaid, confeſſed, and ſigned any thing, by which he was ſurpriſed and made guilty, and whereby others might come and fall into danger or hazard, that hee ſhould ſpeake and manifeſt it openly, that he might diſcharge the party thereof. For the Governour proteſted that he was not deſirous of the deſtruction and death of any that was not guilty. Vpon which propoſition every one of them ſhrunke vp their ſhoulders and ſaid, that what he had confeſſed and ſigned particularly was true, and therefore he perſiſted therein.

In the fourth place, One of the complices called *William Webber*, in his laſt examination, confeſſed that he had received a Letter from *Iohn Clarke*, by which hee was advertiſed that ſomething of great waight and conſequence was handled amongſt the *Engliſh*; but he could not vnderſtand what it might be: the which letter containing as aforeſaid, the ſaid *Clarke* confeſſed alſo in the abſcence of *Webber*, that he had written it.

Fiftly, that *Edward Collins* being examined and making his confeſſion without any torment or torture, (as appeareth by the Acts) offered to confeſſe all of his owne freewill: yea hee declared the ſame before

before *Gabriell Towerſon* and all the other *Engliſh*, and that he did not thinke that the ſaid *Towerſon* and all the reſt which were there faulty would dare to deny it, but would preſently confeſſe it, as alſo the ſaid *Towerſon* being brought to *Collins*, (and the ſaid *Collins* falling vpon his knees and requiring mercie and pardon) he ſaid, and told it him to his face, admoniſhing the ſaid *Towerſon* that he would preſently declare and confeſſe all as he had done, ſaying, I muſt ſpeake and confeſſe the truth, and I meane not to ſuffer or endure any paine for the loue of you.

In the ſixt place, That *Emanuell Tompſon* two dayes after the examination finiſhed and ended, and when he was free and at liberty, being inquired by the Commiſſioners which had aſſiſted in the ſame examination, wherefore he had ſo long perſiſted in his denials, and endured the ſevere examination, ſaid the reaſon was becauſe Captaine *Gabriell Towerſon* had oftentimes reprehended his drunkenneſſe, ſaying, that hee ſhould take good heed that thereby the matter ſhould not be diſcovered; For which cauſe the ſaid *Tompſon* did by a great oath ſweare to himſelfe, that howſoever it went, hee would not bee the third nor the fourth by whom the matter ſhould be knowne, whatſoever paine (in his opinion) he could haue beene put vnto.

Seventhly, the ſaid *Emanuell Tompſon*, certaine daies after his examination being viſited by certaine Commiſſioners, ſaid vnto them, that hee was very glad that God had cauſed the buſines to be brought to light, becauſe much innocent bloud would haue beene ſpilt, and although he confeſſed that hee

had deſerved once, yea twice to dye, he asked mercy ſeeing that he was a man of about fiftie yeares, &c. And ſo after ſo much favour was given to the ſaid *Tompſon*, for to draw a lot with *Coulſon* and *Collins* which of them three ſhould be releaſed and freed.

In the eight place, that two or three dayes before the execution, Captaine *Towerſon* being in the Hall with other the convict *Engliſh*, ſaid in the preſence of the Governour and all the Councell, and to the reſt of the *Engliſh* in generall by reproach, that their ill and diſordinate liues, their whoredome, and drunkenneſſe, was the cauſe, that it pleaſed God that they ſhould not keepe ſecret the intended enterpriſe; and that by reaſon thereof they were now fallen and brought to ſuch miſery.

Ninthly, that *Gabriell Towerſon* author of this conſpiracy, in his laſt extremitie prayed the reſt of his complices to pardon him, becauſe that by him *Towerſon*, they were inſtigated and brought vnto the ſaid enterpriſe, and were reduced to that caſe, and that the buſineſſe was come to be diſcovered by the all-ſeeing God, and that he muſt of neceſſity dye, & therefore having brought them into this danger and ill chance, he prayed them to pardon him, as they alſo did.

In the tenth place, The ſaid *Towerſon* a little before his death writ a letter to *Samuell Coulſon*, which letter is yet in the hands of the Governor of *Amboyna Harman Van Speult*, by which, the ſaid *Towerſon* ſaid and alleadged vnto the ſaid *Coulſon*, that he, the ſaid *Coulſon*, was the firſt and principall cauſe which had made the agreement and condeſcending vnto the act

of

of invading and making of themſelues maſters of the Caſtle, but notwithſtanding at the preſent he pardoned him.

Eleventhly, that the ſhip called the *Vnicorne*, ſayling from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, the two *Engliſh* Merchants *Edward Collins* and *Iohn Beomont*, which were pardoned, were tranſported therein, vnto the end to impetrate and obtaine their full pardon in *Batavia* aforeſaid, and they two *Engliſh* Merchants being requeſted by the officers of the ſhip to come ſit down and eate at the Table of the Commiſſioners, during the ſaid voyage; the ſaid *Collins* ſaid, excuſing of himſelfe, that they were not worthy to ſit by the ſaid Commiſſioners, becauſe that the ſaid *Engliſh* had had ſuch an ill purpoſe and deſign againſt the *Dutch*, and yet they were by them in that faſhion entertained, and were exempted of the puniſhment: and therefore they could very well eate apart: which excuſe notwithſtanding was not received nor accepted by the Commiſſioners of the *Dutch*.

In the twelfth place, are adjoyned and annexed the report and depoſitions of the ſaid Governour *de Houtman* concerning the confeſſions of the ſaid two *Engliſh* Merchants made before the Governor himſelfe, and afterwards before the Preſident and principall *Engliſh*, and that which further may be declared at *Batavia*, whereof divers perſons there haue notice. X.

In the thirteenth place, concerning the torture in the proceedings vſed at *Amboyna*, they can giue certaine proofe of the truth it ſelfe, that many perſons mentioned in the *Engliſh* Writing, to haue bin tor-

tortured with water and fire, haue not one beene once touched.

In the fourteenth place, concerning the particularities and petty points of the said Writing in *English*, touching the examination of certaine persons therein mentioned, for the discharge and innocency of the *English*, the same shall bee proved never to haue beene done nor heard, by depositions of those which haue beene present at all, and by persons before whom such things must needs haue beene spoken and declared.

In the fifteenth place, it shall also bee found that the pretended miracles were deuised onely for the discharge of the *English*, and in their favour.

Y These said points, and many others which are yet further well knowne to the *Directors*, may be clearly and by good proofe showne in time and place, if due and conuenient time be given and granted vnto the cause and re-search thereof: which in a matter so important, & of such waight, comming also from so remote parts, cannot (vnder reverence) be denied to any: So that your Honours may please to desire the same of his Majesty of *Great Britaine*, without which the *Directors* can very ill propose any other meanes, which would not be mingled either with injustice, or the great prejudice and disadvantage of the *Dutch* Company.

We also surely hope that his said Majesty, according to his great wisedome and justice, cannot refuse or deny the said respite for the examination of the businesse more exactly and particularly; which wee be-

beſeech your Honours in all reverence to interpoſe and mediate, and by all meanes to effect and obtaine; that (as reaſon requireth) neither the Company in generall, nor the Maſters in particular, may not during this interim bee any way grieved or prejudiced in their juſt defences. Which doing, &c.

FINIS.

AN AVTHENTICK COPY OF THE ACTS OF THE PROCESSE *AGAINST THE* ENGLISH AT AMBOYNA.

Tranſlated out of the Copy, delivered to the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company, from the *Dutch*.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN DAVVSON, for the EAST INDIA COMPANY 1632.

AN AUTHENTICK COPY OF THE ACTS OF THE PROCESSE AGAINST THE ARCHBISHOP.

AN AVTHENTICK Copy of the Confeſsions and Sentences againſt Mr. *Towerſon*, and Complices, concerning the bloudy conſpiracy enterpriſed againſt the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, the which by the manifeſt grace, and providence of God was diſcouered the 23. day of *Februarij*, in the yeare 1623. as alſo the Reſolutions of the Governour *Van Speult*, and of the Counceil taken in the buſines.

The Tranſlation.

WHereas on the 23. of *Februry* 1623. by the manifeſt grace and providence of God, it was diſcovered; That a certaine *Iaponeſſe* called *Hytieſo*, at night, and at vnlawfull howers at Sermon, and Prayers time, contrary to order, and to his condition, did paſſe divers times along by the Ramparts, and before the Points: and at diuers times there where he found the Souldiers yong and vnexperienced, made enquiry how many Souldiers of the *Lowe Countries* there were in the Caſtle,

and how many times they changed the watch every night: The Worshipfull *Harman van Speult*, Councellor of the *Indies*, and Governour of *Amboyna*, vpon great reasons taking his actions and demands for suspicious, caused the sayd *Iaponeze* to appeare before him and the Councell, and examining him of the truth, he confessed as followeth, *Datum vt supra*: Being signed

Harman van Speult, Laurence de Marschalck, Clement Kersseboom, Iohn Iohnsõ visscher, Iohn van Leeuwen, Iohn Iacobson-wincoop, Leonard Clocq, Martin Ianson Vegell, Iohn Iooslen, Iacob Cooper, Iohn van Nieupoort, Peter Ianson van Zanten, Harman Crayevanger, Rowland Tailler, Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Hytieso Iaponois of the age of 24. yeares, borne at *Ferando* in *Iapon* denyed the same, but the Souldiers being produced before him, of whom he had divers times, and in divers places asked those questions, he confessed that he had done it out of a merry disposition and for pleasure: whereupon his Worsh: sayd vnto him, that such things at vnseasonable times could not be asked for pl asure of the yonger and vnexperienced Souldiers, but that of necessity it must be otherwise: and in pursuit thereof being of that opinion, he with those of his Councell, caused him to be brought to the torture: the Prisoner having beene tortured a while, desired that they would cease, and hee would confesse all that did belong to the busines, and then he confessed that a certaine other *Iaponeze*, being also Souldier to the

the Dutch Companie in the East *Indies*, called *Sidney Migiell*, (who had heretofore beene servant to the honorable Englisſh Company) had desired him to enquire of the thing aforesayd, and moreover he confessed, that he had beene asked by the sayd *Migiell*, if he would lend his ayde amongst other *Iaponezers*, to deliver the Castle into the hands of the *Englisſh*, to the which he answered, he would vpon condition of good recompence, which was offered him by the sayd *Iaponeze*, in the name of the *Englisſh*.

Hee confessed, that hee had communicated and consulted concerning the delivery of the Castle divers times, as well in the quarters of *Mardiques*, as in the *Englisſh* house with divers other *Iaponezes*, and with Mr. *Timothie Iohnſon* Englisſh Merchant, and *Abell Price* Englisſh Barber, and that within three moneths last past.

He sayth that the *Iaponian* Souldiers which were in the Castle, did agree to deliver the said Castle into the hands of the *Englisſh*, and that they had ingaged themselues to serue them.

Further he confesseth, that they would put this exploit and treason in execution, when any *Englisſh* ship should haue ariued in this place.

Hee saith, that the *Iaponezes* did consult for to keepe two men in every Corner of the Castle, and the rest in the Hall, for to seize vpon the Governor, and that they would haue killed all that were not on their side: Thus confessed the 23. of *February* 1623. in the Castle of *Amboyna*, and it was subscribed, the marke of *Hytieſo Iaponois*.

Harman van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogel,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

By reaſon of which conſpiracie and treaſon, the Governour *Van Speult* being moved and troubled, kept the Priſoner by him, and preſently cauſed the Gate to ſhut and looked to, and the points of the Caſtle with double guard, and likewiſe the Armes of all the *Iaponezes* to be taken away, and themſelues to bee put in Irons: giving commaund that none ſhould ſtirre out of the Caſtle, vntill ſuch time as he ſhould bee better informed, and all things were ſet in order: knowing well that there was great danger in delayes, and that for the finding out of ſuch conſpiracies and offences, he was not to make any pauſe, but to ſearch out the end thereof; for which cauſe hee commaunded *Sidney Migiell* to bee ſent for, & commaunded the Advocate *Fiſcall de Brune*, with the Councell, to take diligent information:

who

who after some torture, the said *Migiell* and others made the confessions following.

Done in the Castle of *Amboyna* the 23. of *Feb.* *Anno* 1623. And it was subscribed;

Harman Van Speult
Laurence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
Iohn Iohnson Vischer,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnson Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Sidney Migiell Iaponeze, of the age of 24. yeares, borne at *Nangaſaque,* confeſſeth that he did enquire of another Souldier being a *Iaponeze,* called *Peter Conge,* how many *Dutch* Souldiers were in the Caſtle.

He confeſſeth, that *Abell Price* Engliſh Barber within 2. or 3. moneths ſince asked him, if he knew a way for to get and induce the *Iaponezes* to deliver the Caſtle to the *Engliſh.*

He ſaith, that afterwards he conſulted with the *Iaponezes* about the ſaid buſineſſe, and that all of them

them agreed therevnto.

He ſaith, that divers times he conſulted concerning the proſecution of the buſineſſe, and concerning the time with Captaine *Towerſon*, M. *Tompſon*, *Iohn Clarke*, *Abell Price*, and other *Engliſh*.

He confeſſeth alſo, that they would haue put in execution this plot or treaſon, when any *Engliſh* ſhip or Pincke had arrived here, and that then with the *Engliſh*, and their ſlaves, they would haue attempted to make themſelues Maſters of the Caſtle, and haue killed all that were not on their ſide.

He ſaith, that they had appointed two *Iaponezes* to be in every point of the Caſtle, and the reſt in the Hall, for to ſeize vpon the Governour *Van Speult*.

He confeſſeth alſo, that the *Engliſh* did promiſe to every *Iaponeze* 1000. Ryals of Eight, over and aboue their ſhare in the bootie. Thus confeſſed the 24. of *February*, *Anno* 1623. *Stilo Nouo*, in the Fort of *Amboyna*. And it was ſubſcribed.

This is the marke of *Sidney Migiell*.

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,

Peter Ianſen Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Peter Congi Iaponeze, aged 31. yeares, borne at *Mangaſaque*: confeſſeth, that the ſaid *Migiell* queſtioned him concerning the Souldiers of the *Dutch*, how many there were, and that he enquired of the ſaid *Hytieſo*.

He confeſſeth, that he did conſult as the other *Iaponezes* did with the *Engliſh*, concerning the deliverie of the Caſtle, and he promiſed his ſervice therein. Thus confeſſed the 24. of *February* 1623. in the Caſtle of *Amboyna*. The marke of *Peter Congi*.

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen Van Zantem,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Soyſimo, Iaponeze of the age of 26. yeares, borne at *Ferando*: confeſſeth, that he had likewiſe knowledge of the conſultation of the *Engliſh*, and that he had preſented his ſervice to the ſaid *Engliſh* to win the Caſtle. Confeſſed, *Dated* in the ſame place, and it was marked, ſigned, *Soyſimo Iaponeze.*

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Thome Corea Iaponeze, of the age of 50. yeares, borne at *Mangaſaque*: confeſſed, that hee with the reſt of the *Iaponezes*, had knowledge of the conſultation of the *Engliſh*, and that hee ſhould likewiſe haue beene imployed in their ſervice. Thus confeſſed, the 24. of *February* 1623. and was ſigned. The marke of *Thome Corea.*

Harman

Harman van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogel,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Tſioſa Iaponeze of the age of 32. yeares, borne at *Firando* Souldier: confeſſeth, that hee with the reſt of the *Iaponezes* ſhould haue been aſſiſtant in the ſurprizing of the Caſtle for the *Engliſh*. *Datum ut ſupra:* and was ſigned. The marke of *Tſioſa Iaponeze.*

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,

Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Quiendayo Iaponeze, aged 32. yeares, Souldier, borne at *Coreats*: confeſſed, that they being 12. *Iaponezes,* thought to haue made themſelues Maſters of the Caſtle with the ayde of the *Engliſh.* Confeſſed and ſigned as aforeſaid. Signed thus the name of *Quiendayo.*

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell.
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſon Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Sinſa Iaponeze, of the age of 32. yeares, borne at *Ferando,* Souldier: confeſſed, that they 12. *Iaponezes* did intend to deliver and betray the Caſtle to the *Engliſh.*

Engliſh. Confeſſed in the ſaid place, and on the ſaid day ſubſcribed. The name of *Sinſa Iaponeze.*

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck;
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Tſauinda Iaponeze, aged 32. yeares, borne at *Firoucketge,* Souldier: confeſſeth as the reſt, that they 12. with the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh,* intended to make themſelues Maiſters of the Caſtle. Thus confeſſed the 24. of *February* 1623. And was ſubſcribed. The name of *Tſauinda.*

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,

Leonard Clocq,
Martin Ianſen Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Zanchoo Iaponeze, aged 22. yeares, borne at *Fiſien*, Souldier: Confeſſeth as the afore-going. Dated as the afore-ſaid, and was vnder-ſigned.

The marke of *Zanchoo.*

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Sacoube

Sacoube Iaponeze, of the age of 40. yeares, borne at *Ferando*, Souldier: Confeſſeth, that he alſo had knowledge of the conſultation of the *Iaponezes*, but being old and ſicke, he did not preſent his ſervice. Dated the 25. of *February* 1623.
The marke of *Sacoube*.

Harman van Speult,
Lauren e de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Ieoſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſon Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

His Worſhip vnderſtanding by all the precedent Confeſſions the deſigne of the Agent of the honourable *Engliſh* Company of *Amboyna*, with the Merchants and other Confederates; and although that he was ſufficiently informed: that hee might haue taken them into cuſtody, yet he would not haſt thereunto: but firſt he cauſed to be brought before him *Abell Price* Engliſh Barber, who for other offences (as an Incendiarie, for vſing violence

in other mens houſes) was already in priſon: and after the ſaid Priſoner was told the place, perſons, and times where he had conſulted with the *Iaponeezes*, and with other *Engliſh* vpon the conſultation afore-ſaid: they vnderſtood by him that which followeth. *Dated* the 25. of *February* 1623. Subſcribed.

Harman Van Spenlt
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

The Confeſſion of *Abell Price*, aged 24. yeares, borne at *Neles* in *Wales* in the Countie of *Pembroke*. Confeſſed;

That he by the command and order of Captaine *Towerſon*, had conference with *Sidney Migiell Iaponeze*, concerning the taking of the Caſtle, promiſing vnto every *Iaponeze* their ſhare in the bootie.

Further

Further he confeſſeth, that he did treate two or three times in the Quarter of *Mardriques* with M. *Thomſon*, M. *Iohnſon*, and *Iohn Clarke*, and the *Iaponezes* concerning the ſaid matter.

Further he confeſſeth; That the ſaid *Migiell Iaponeze* was three or foure times in the *Engliſh* houſe with him, and conferred with him and them diuers times, and they informed Captain *Towerſon* of their diſcourſe.

Confeſſing further, That the ſaid treaſon ſhould haue been put in execution when any *Engliſh* ſhips ſhould arriue.

Further he confeſſeth, that all the Merchants of the Facturies, reſorting to *Amboyna*, had knowledge of the ſaid treaſon.

Further he ſaith, That they intended to put it in execution when one of their ſhippes ſhould come.

Further he confeſſeth, That if they had taken the Caſtle, they would haue done all the dammage and offence poſſible to the Citizens, if they agreed not with them. And this he confirmed with his name *Abell Price*.

His Worſhip vnderſtanding this, hee thought good for to ſend for Captaine *Towerſon* to the Caſtle, the which he did preſently by a certaine Merchant, who went to the *Engliſh* Houſe, and preſently returned to the Caſtle with M. *Towerſon*: who was very much troubled and altered, and then his Worſhip ſaid to him, that hee was very much amazed and ſorry for that which he had vnderſtood by the *Iaponeze* and the *Barber*; having many times admoniſhed

moniſhed the ſaid Captain *Towerſon*, that he ſhould not entertaine or draw vnto him (as hee did) the *Engliſh*, *Iaponeze*, and *Spaniſh* Priſoners, which were in the ſervice of him and the *Low-Countries*. That it did cauſe and giue ſuſpition of ill conſultation, and other things, but as he thought Captaine *Towerſon* did not know any thing: but that now hee marked in him a great alteration and aſtoniſhment.

The Governour *Van Speult* with his Counſell found good that they ſhould retaine by way of proviſion the ſaid Captaine *Towerſon*, and M *Thomſon*; and he was told preſently that he ſhould ſtay there as Priſoner, and ſhould take a lodging in one of the Chambers of the Merchants. But the ſaid Maſter *Towerſon* deſired that by reaſon of his qualitie, they would grant him to be Priſoner in his owne Chamber, in the Houſe of the honourable *Engliſh* Companie: to the which his Worſhip agreed, vpon condition that firſt he ſhould cauſe to come, or ſend all his men into the Caſtle, the which was done; and that he ſhould bee there Priſoner with ſome Keepers.

Captaine *Towerſon* being gone, his Worſhip holding a Counſell thought good preſently to examine all the *Engliſh* one after another, and they were examined; ſome before torture, others after a little torture confeſſing as followeth; Done the 26. of *February* 1623. Signed.

Harman van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,

Clement

Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſon Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Certhals Secretarie.

The Confeſſion of Timothy Iohnſon *Factor, borne at* New-Caſtle; *aged 29. yeares.*

Confeſſeth; That he was in one of the houſes of the *Iaponezes*, in the Quarter of the *Madriques* with M. *Thomſon*, *Iohn Clarke*, and *Abell Price*, three or foure times, for to conſult of the taking of the Caſtle, and of maſſacring thoſe of the *Low-Countries*, which conſultation, was kept ſix or ſeaven dayes agoe.

Further he confeſſeth; That Captaine *Towerſon* on New-yeares-day laſt, having all his Merchants aſſembled with him, propoſed vnto them how that the *Hollanders* did great injuries to the *Engliſh*: and asked them if they had not the courage to helpe to revenge all their wrongs: for his own part, he knew the wayes and meanes, both within and without,

with the ayde of certaine Souldiers *Iaponezes*, that were lodged in the Caſtle, to make himſelfe Maſter thereof. And they all anſwered that they had.

And hee confeſſeth; That their exploit ſhould haue beene put in execution, when the Governour ſhould be out of the Caſtle vpon ſome exploit, and thoſe that were in the Caſtle ſhould be weake and ill provided.

And alſo that all the Merchants of other Facturies reſorting thither, had knowledge of the ſaid Treaſon.

And further he ſaith; That they would haue ſhared the bootie with the *Iaponezes*, and this is confirmed with the ſigne and name of *Timothy Ianſon*,

The Confeſsion of Robert Browne, *borne in* Edenburrow *in* Scotland, *aged* 24. *yeares.*

Confeſſed; That Captaine *Towerſon* about *New-yeares-day* laſt paſt, called an Aſſembly of all his Familie and the forraine Merchants, and told them that hee would haue them take an oath on the Bible for fidelitie and ſecreſie, the which they did accordingly.

Further he ſaith; That afterwards the ſaid *Towerſon* propounded, that the *Engliſh* had ſuffered great wrong by the *Hollanders*, asking them if they had the will and courage to revenge the ſame. To the which ſome of them anſwered, that they were to weake to effect it. But then the ſaid Captaine *Towerſon* anſwered, that they would waite the opportunitie of the arrivall of ſome *Engliſh* Ships: wherevpon all

of

of them agreed to make tryal, to make themſelues Maſters of the *Caſtle*.

Alſo; That *Captaine Towerſon* reported that the *Iaponian* Souldiers that were within the Caſtle were at his ſervice.

Saith moreover; That *Captaine Towerſon* at the arrivall of ſome of their Ships, ſhould cauſe all their Merchants and ſlaves of the other Facturie to come thither for that purpoſe.

And further he ſaith; That they would haue killed all that ſhould haue made any reſiſtance againſt them. And it is ſubſcribed by the marke *R. B.*

The Confeſſion of Iohn Fardo *the Engliſh Steward of the age of* 42. *yeares.*

He confeſſeth; That about two moneths ſince he was in conference with others, wherein he tooke his oath vpon the Bible to be faithfull and ſecret.

He ſaith; That *Captaine Towerſon* with their ayde, intended to make himſelfe Maſter of the Caſtle.

And further he ſaith; That ſome whereof hee Priſoner was one, anſwered that they were to weake in men: and *Captaine Towerſon* ſaid, that he knew a way to finde men enough, and that they ſhould referre the buſineſſe to him, and that they only ſhould doe their endevour.

Further he ſaith; That hee amongſt the reſt offered his ſervice and endevour.

Furthermore hee ſaith; That about 14. dayes ſince, when he was with *Captaine Towerſon*, for money for the Kitchin, *Captain Towerſon* asked him the

ſame, and if hee would doe his beſt for to take the Caſtle, to the which hee anſwered, that he among others would doe their beſt. And it was confirmed by the ſigne of *Iohn Fardo.*

The Confeſſion of Edward Collins *Engliſh Merchant, borne at* London, *aged* 25. *yeares or therabouts.*

Confeſſeth, That he amongſt others was at the ſaid conſultation, and tooke his oath vpon the Bible, to be faithfull and ſecret.

And further; That he amongſt others did conſent to doe his beſt in the taking of the Caſtle.

Item, That within three or foure dayes after the ſaid conſultation, they aſſembled againe: and then *Captaine Towerſon* told him, that he had at his devotion the *Iaponian* Souldiers, and that at his appointment they would make themſelues Maſters of the Points, and that ſome ſhould attend in the Hall for the Governour, when he ſhould come forth vpon the noyſe.

Item; That they would put their deſigne in execution, when one of their Ships ſhould arriue.

Item he confeſſeth, That if ſo be they could haue gained the Caſtle, they would haue done the Citizens all the hurt and dammage poſſible, vnleſſe they would agree with them. And it is confirmed vnder *Edward Collins* his hand.

The Confeſſion of Iohn Beomont *Engliſh Merchant, borne in* Barke-ſhire, *aged* 48. *yeares.*

Con-

Confeſſeth, That on *New-yeares-day* laſt paſt, he was in conference, and among others tooke his oath vpon the Bible to be faithfull and ſecret.

Item hee confeſſeth; That *Captaine Towerſon* required all their aydes for the taking of the Caſtle. Other circumſtances at preſent he remembreth not, having beene ſicke, and having an ill memory, and growing in age. And it is confirmed vnder the hand of *Iohn Beomont*.

The Confeſſion of Ephraim Ramſy, *borne at* Carelſtow *in* Scotland, *aged* 21. *yeares. Aſſiſtant to the Engliſh at* Lohoe.

He confeſſeth, That vpon *New-yeares-day* laſt, he was at *Lohoe*, and therefore he could not bee at the ſaid conference with the *Engliſh*.

Further he ſaith; That this is the firſt day that he hath vnderſtood, that the *Engliſh* did conſult on New-years day for the taking of the *Caſtle* in a time convenient.

The Confeſſion of Iohn Sadler, *borne at* London, *aged* 20. *yeares, Engliſh Steward at* Larico.

He confeſſeth, That at the time aforeſaid hee was at *Larico*, and that hee knew not of any conſultation.

The Confeſſion of William Grigs *of* Dunſtable *in the Countie of* Bedford, *aged* 28. *yeares, Engliſh Merchant at* Larico.

He confeſſeth; that he was preſent at the conſultation vpon New-yeares day laſt, and that amongſt others he took his oath vpon the Bible to be loyall and ſecret

Further he confeſſeth, that he offered his ſervice for to take the Caſtle.

Item, *Captaine Towerſon* did make great complaint of the wrong which the *Engliſh* did receiue from the *Hollanders*; and for the reuenge thereof with the ayde of the *Iaponian* Souldiers, ſlaues, and ſome *Spaniſh* Priſoners, hee intended to make himſelfe Maſter of the Caſtle: if every one of vs would ayde him, the which if we would doe, he knew a way to keepe the Caſtle in ſpight of the *Hollanders* teethes.

Item hee ſaith, that they would haue killed all thoſe which ſhould make any reſiſtance, and taken the reſt priſoners.

Further hee ſaith, that within a few dayes after they ſhould haue had another conſultation, and that then *Captaine Towerſon* would giue order for all things, and haue given a ſigne to the *Iaponezes*, at which they ſhould haue gone about the buſineſſe within the Caſtle.

Item he ſaith, that they would haue diuided the goods and bootie among themſelues. And it was confirmed vnder the hand of *William Grigs*.

The Confeſſion of Iohn Clarke, *borne at* Ordington, *aged 36. yeares. Aſſiſtant to the Engliſh.*

Confeſſeth, That he treated and ſpake with the *Iaponian* Souldiers concerning the taking of the Caſtle.

Item

Item he confeſſeth, That he was in the conſultation on New-yeares day laſt paſt, and that *Captaine Towerſon* cauſed them to take an oath vpon the Bible to be faithfull and ſecret: ſaying that it was neceſſary ſo to doe, for if that which he ſhould ſay vnto them ſhould come to be known, it would coſt them all their liues.

Confeſſeth moreover, That Captaine *Towerſon* ſaid afterwards, that he intended with the helpe of the *Iaponian* Souldiers, and them, to make himſelfe Maſter of the Caſtle.

Item he ſaith, That Captaine *Towerſon* ſaid, that when time ſhould be fitting, he would ſend for all his men and ſlaves of the other Factories.

He ſaith moreover, That they reſolved to kill all thoſe that ſhould reſiſt them, and that they ſhould haue ſhared all the monies & goods amongſt them. And this was confirmed vnder the hand of *Iohn Clarke*.

The Confeſſion of William Webber, *borne at* Tyverton *in* Devonſhire, *aged about* 32. *yeares*.

He confeſſeth, that about fiue weekes ſince, hee received a Letter from *Iohn Clarke* of *Hitto*, wherein among other things it was written, that the *Engliſh* in *Amboyna* had conſulted concerning the taking of the Caſtle.

Item he ſaith, that he hath no other knowledge of the treaſon, nor he did not conſult with any perſon concerning the ſame. And it was confirmed vnder the hand of *William Webber*.

The Confeſſion of George Shacock, *of the age of* 31. *yeares, borne at* Weſtcheſter, *Aſſiſtant to the Engliſh at* Hitto.

He confeſſeth and ſaith; That he was not in *Amboyna* ſince the 1. of December laſt paſt, and therefore hee could not be at the conſultation held here by the *Engliſh* at New-yeares tide laſt.

He confeſſeth, that about a moneth or fiue weeks ſince he vnderſtood of *Iohn Clarke* of *Hitto*, being in the *Gallery*, that the *Engliſh* in *Amboyna* had conſulted and reſolved for to take the Caſtle.

Item, that hee promiſed to *Iohn Clarke* his ayde concerning the buſineſſe. And it was confirmed vnder the hand of the ſaid *George Shacocke*.

The Confeſſion of Samuell Coulſon *Engliſh Merchant, borne at* Newcaſtle, *aged* 39. *yeares*.

Confeſſeth; That hee was at the conference of the *Engliſh*, and had taken an oath vpon the Bible for to be faithfull and ſecret, as others.

Item he confeſſeth, that Captaine *Towerſon* complained of the great wrong & injuries that the *Hollanders* did them, and if that they would ayde them he knew with the helpe of the *Iaponian* Souldiers, a way to take the Caſtle.

Item he confeſſeth, that he promiſed his ayde in the ſame act.

Further he confeſſeth, that the time of the putting of the ſame in execution, was not yet determined,

but

but with opportunity, Captaine *Towerſon* would tell him.

Item, in caſe that their intention had taken effect, they reſolved to kill all that ſhould make reſiſtance, and take the reſt Priſoners. And this was confirmed by *Samuell Coulſons* name.

The Confeſſion of Gabriell Towerſon, *Agent for the Engliſh in Amboyna, of the age of 49. yeares, borne in London.*

He confeſſeth, That he was in conference with the *Engliſh*, and with the others, hee tooke an oath vpon the Bible to be faithfull and ſecret.

Item he ſaith and confeſſeth, That he had an intention, and divers times conſulted with his men for to make himſelfe Maſter of the Caſtle.

Item hee confeſſeth, That all his men were conſenting to it, and that he would haue put the ſame in execution the next time that the Governour *Van Speult*, had gone forth with his Curricuries.

Being asked what ſhould moue him therevnto, he anſwered, deſire of honor and profit.

Further being asked of whom hee looked to receiue that honor, and for whom he would haue kept the Caſtle, he anſwered, that if his intent had beene atchieved, he would haue informed thoſe of his Nation in *Batavia*, and require their aſſiſtance: the which being ſent him, he would haue kept the Caſtle for his Companie: but if they did not, hee would haue kept it for himſelfe, and ſeeke ſome agreement with the *Blacks*, and ſo by ſome way or o-

ther haue had his intent.

He confeſſeth moreover, That he gaue order to his men for to get him men and companions to effect the ſame; as M. *Thomſon*, M. *Iohnſon*, *Iohn Clarke* and *Abell Price*, and they had already negotiated with the *Iaponian* Souldiers.

Hee ſaith, That the *Iaponezes* were twice in his houſe; but that he himſelf did not ſpeake with them but he cauſed them to be treated with by others.

He ſaith, That as yet he did not appoint the time becauſe it was too ſoone.

He ſaith, when time ſhould come convenient, he would to this intent haue ſent for all his men and ſlaves from the other Factories.

Further he ſaith, that no perſon whatſoever gaue him any order, inſtruction, or charge for the ſaid buſineſſe, but onely he was the firſt inventer and author of this enterprize and plot, for the reaſons aforeſaid.

Item he confeſſeth, That on New-yeares day laſt he conſulted with the Merchants, and thoſe of his Family concerning the taking of the Caſtle, and made them all ſweare vpon the Bible to be faithfull and ſecret.

Further he confeſſeth, that he hath not given any order to any perſon whatſoever, to confer with thoſe of *Loehoe*, *Hitto*, or *Cambello*, concerning this matter. So farre was he from promiſing them any powder, Ordnance, Bullets or Muskets, or any other Ammunition of warre, at the arrivall of the Ships. Signed *Gabriell Towerſon*.

The Confeſſion of Emanuel Tompſon *Engliſh Merchant in* Amboyna, *borne in* Hamburrough, *of the age of* 50. *yeares.*

He confeſſeth, That on New-yeares day laſt paſt, a day after or before, hee, with other *Engliſh* Merchants was ſent for to the chamber of *Captaine Towerſon*, and that the ſaid *Captaine Towerſon* then ſaid vnto them, that hee had a buſineſſe to impart vnto them, but firſt they muſt take their oathes vpon the Bible to be faithfull and ſecret to him; the which they all did.

Afterwards *Captaine Towerſon* told them in what manner the *Engliſh* were eſteemed in that Country, and that every where they muſt be the loweſt, and that they could not receiue juſtice in any kinde, and that he had found a way to be revenged thereof, and that he could be Maſter of the Caſtle if they would aſſiſt him. Vnto the which they all agreed.

Item the ſaid *Captaine Towerſon* ſaid, that thoſe of *Leeboe* would come with certaine *Curicorrowes* to aſſiſt him.

Item hee ſaith, that eight dayes after the conference, *Captaine Towerſon* told him, that hee had ſent M. *Iohnſon* and M. *Price* forth to treate, and get the *Iaponian* Souldiers to conſent to the ſame.

Further hee confeſſeth, that after the ſaid conference, he had ſundry times asked *Captaine Towerſon* how he proceeded in the buſineſſe, but he was ſtill anſwered, that he ſhould content himſelfe, and leaue the buſines to thoſe that were wiſer then himſelfe, and that he ſhould take heed, leaſt by his drunken-

neſſe the buſineſſe ſhould be diſcovered. Signed *Emannell Tompſon.*

The Confeſſion of Iohn Wetherall *Engliſh Merchant, dwelling at* Cambello, *borne at* Glaſton *in the Countie of* Rutland, *aged* 31. *yeares.*

Confeſſeth, That he was at the conference with others on New-yeares day, and tooke his oath as others did on the Bible, to be faithfull and ſecret.

That Captaine *Towerſon* after he had told them, how that the *Engliſh* had indured a great deale of wrong by the *Hollanders*; and that he with the ayde of the *Iaponian* Souldiers and with the *Blacks*, knew a way how to get the Caſtle, if they would all ayde him: they preſently promiſed to doe it.

This exploit ſhould haue beene put in execution when their ſhips ſhould haue arrived.

Item, He confeſſeth that the next day they were againe aſſembled, to animate and encourage one another in the advancement of their deſigne. Signed *Iohn Wetherall.*

The Confeſſion of Iohn Paul *Aſſiſtant to the Engliſh at* Cambello, *borne in* Briſtoll, *aged* 31. *yeares.*

Saith, that he hath not beene neere the Caſtle of *Amboyna* this fiue moneths, & that he knoweth not any thing therein.

The Confeſſion of Thomas Sharke, *borne at* Colcheſter, *aged* 36. *yeares.*

Saith,

Saith, That hee hath not beene in *Amboyna* this six moneths, and that he knoweth nothing.

Augustine Peres Marinho *Captaine of the Slaves, aged 36. yeares, borne in* Bengala.

Confesseth, That two moneths since, he was asked by a *Iaponeze* called *Hytieso*, in the name of *Captaine Towerson*, if hee would together with the *Iaponezes* assist the *English* in the taking of the Castle: the which he consented to. Thus confessed in the Castle of *Amboyna*, the 3. of *March* 1623.

The Worshipfull *Harman Van Speult* Councellor in the *Indies*, Governour in *Amboyna*, &c. having seene and vnderstood the conformable confessions of divers persons and Nations, being kept in divers places, and examined at divers times; doth not think any wayes necessarie by reason of the enormitie of the offence, that the cause could, nor ought not to suffer any reference: because at the present they were charged with more then 40. Prisoners, and they did not know what enemies might be besides, either within or without. Yet not withstanding, for the abundant satisfaction of the Honourable *English Companie* and Nation, it was thought fit to bee debated by Councell, whether the cause could suffer any referring, or no.

Whereupon by a generall voyce it was judged and resolved, that the fact and crime should be punished in the place where it was conceived and concluded,

cluded, for example to others: and the rather because at the present the *Tarnatans* and *Mores* hereabouts contrary to their custome, did a while since (in likelihood by the instigation of the *English*) beginne to rebell, and had slaine and killed certaine of the *Dutch* Nation, and servants of the Companie. Therefore his Worship caused the *Fiscall Brune* for to forme such demaund and conclusion against the said Prisoners, as in reason he should thinke fitting. Thus done, and resolved the 8. of *March* 1623. Subscribed.

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
Iohn Iohnson Vischer,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnson Vogell,
Iohn Iooften,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Whereas by the preceedent Acts and confessions it appeares sufficiently, that *Gabriell Towerson* Agent for the Honourable *English Companie* in *Amboyna*, with his creatures and Confederates aforesaid, hath com-

committed treason, and sought the overthrow of the *State*, of the priviledged Company of the *Low-Countries* in *Amboyna*; wherein depends the greatest part of the prosperitie of the said Company: and by a horrible murder and effusion of bloud, wholy to ruinate the same; Therefore the Advocate *Fiscall Isaack Brune*, *nomine officij*, forming his Demaund, concludes, that the said *Gabriell Towerson* with all the other Delinquents, as well *English* as *Iaponezes*, aboue named (except *Ephraim Iohn Paul* Assistant to the *English*, *Thomas Sharke*, and *Iohn Sadler*) should be carried to the place accustomed for execution of the Law and Iustice, and that they should there be beheaded, and put to death with the confiscation of all their goods. And that the said *Towerson* after his death should be cut in foure quarters, and his head should bee set vp vpon the Gate vpon a pole, & every quarter should be fixed vpon a Gibbet. Done in the Castle of *Amboyna* the 8. of *March*, 1623. And it was signed *Isaack de Brune* Advocate *Fiscall*.

The Worshipfull *Harman Van Speult*, Councellor of the *Indies*, Governour of *Amboyna*, &c. with the ordinary Councell of his Worship, as also those in the ships named the *Rotterdam*, *Amsterdam*, the *Vnicorne*, *Edam*, and the *Little-Hope*, having heard the demaund and conclusion of the Advocate *Fiscall de Brune*, made against the said Delinquents, after they had called vpon the name of God, that hee would be pleased to assist them in their course during this heavie assembly, and to inspire into them nothing but equitie and justice, after mature consi-

deration in all that was neceſſary. To you the Delinquents aſwell *Engliſh*, as *Iaponezes*; to wit, Captaine *Gabriell Towerſon*, *Samuell Coulſon*, *Emanuell Tompſon*, *Timothy Iohnſon*, *William Grigs*, *Iohn Clarke* *Abell Price*, *Robert Browne*, *Iohn Fetherall*, *Iohn Fardo*, *Auguſtine Peres Marinho*. The Slaues, *Hytieſo*, *Sidney Migiell*, *Pedro Conge*, *Thome Corea*, *Tſioſa*, *Quiandao*, *Sinſa*, *Tſavienda*, and *Zancheo*. Declare that you having committed treaſon, having conceiued and complotted together a horrible maſſacre & treaſon, to bee Maſters of the Caſtle, and ſo haue compaſſed not onely to overthrow and ruinate the State of the *Eaſt-India Company* in the vnited Prouinces of the *Low-Countries*, which the conſervation of this place much concerneth: but alſo to ruinate the Vnited *Low-Countries* themſelues, and their proſperities; partly conſiſting in Navigation and trafficke to the *Indies*, which by this meanes would haue beene vndermined and weakened. In purſuite whereof, and in the name, and in the qualitie of Gouernour of the high and mighty Lords the *States*, Generall of the Vnited Prouinces of the *Low-Countries*, haue condemned the ſaid Delinquents, as by theſe preſents we condemne them, to be carried to the place where Law and Iuſtice is ordinarily executed, and there to be puniſhed with the ſword in ſuch ſort as death may enſue: with the confiſcation according to the Law of their goods proper and in particular. And the heads of *Gabriell Towerſon*, *Sidney Migiell*, *Hytieſo*, and *Pedro Conge*, for example vnto others ſhall be ſet vpon poles.

Thus pronounced in the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, the

ninth

ninth day of *March*, one thouſand ſix hundred twenty three. And it was ſubſcribed.

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Whereas the ſaid Governour *Van Speult* for the ſervice of the honourable *Engliſh* Companie, hath thought good to ſpare two of the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants *pro tempore*, for the grace and pardon of the Lord Governour Generall *Peter de Carpentier*, to the end that with other Deputies of his Worſhip they might looke to the goods of the ſaid honourable *Engliſh* Companie. His Worſhip for certaine reaſons hath choſen for one of them *Iohn Beomont*, *Engliſh* Merchant in the Factorie of *Lohee*. And ordaineth that M. *Collins*, M. *Thomſon*, and M. *Coulſon* ſhould draw lots betweene them three, which of them ſhould enjoy the like favour. Declaring not-

withstanding that their proper goods shall bee perticularly confiscated according as the others. And his Worship pardoned *Ephraim Iohn Paul, Thomas Sharke,* and *Iohn Sadler,* as having little and no knowledge of the said plot. Done and resolved the 8. of *March* 1623.

Master *Coulson, Thomson,* and *Collins,* being brought in a place together, and the Lots being presented to them, after a short prayer which every one made, they drew: first M. *Thomson,* next M. *Collins,* and last M. *Coulson:* the which being opened, it fell to M. *Collins* to be saved. Done in the Castle of *Amboyna* the day aforesaid. Subscribed.

Harman Van Speult
Laurence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
Iohn Iohnson Viscber,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Cloeq,
Martin Iohnson Vogell,
Iohn Iooston,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Iansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Whereas *Augustine Peres Marinho* of the Slaues, had knowledge of the treason and conspiracy aforesaid,

ſaid, and being that he promiſed his ayde, it is concluded of him, as is aforeſaid: and that the wife of *Auguſtine Peres*, which hath beene a Slaue of the honourable *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, who was given to the ſaid *Auguſtine* in hope of his good carriage, for the preſent, ſhee ſhall returne to her ancient Maiſters of the ſaid Companie, vntill ſuch time that ſhee ſhall be otherwiſe diſpoſed of by the Gouernour. Done in the Councell of *Amboyna* the 9. of *March* 1623. And was ſubſcribed.

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,
Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell.
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſon Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

We here vnder-named, doe declare for a truth in ſtead of an oath, that *Gabriell Towerſon* after he was examined concerning the ſaid plot, and the Gouernour *Van Speult* condoling with him for that which is aforeſaid, asking him if that was the recompence

of his former friendſhip ſhewed to the ſaid *Towerſon?* The ſaid *Towerſon* with a deepe ſigh anſwered him and ſaid, alas! if it were to beginne againe, it ſhould never be done. Done the 9. of *March*, in the Caſtle of *Amboyna*. Subſcribed.

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Harman Crayevanger,
Peter Van Zanten,
Leonard Clocq.

The 9. of *March* 1623. in the Caſtle of *Amboyna* it was reſolved; That the *Engliſh* Priſoners that were for the preſent reſerved to the pardon of the Lord Generall *de Carpentier*, as M. *Beomont*, and M. *Collins*, as likewiſe thoſe that had none or little knowledge in the ſaid intended Treaſon, ſhould be againe remitted to the *Engliſh* lodgings, with others appointed by the Governour *Van Speult*, to keepe and looke to the goods of their Companie, vntill the arrivall of ſome *Engliſh* Shippe, for to diſpoſe thereof, as ſhould be found moſt neceſſary and profitable for the ſaid Companie. Thus done in the Caſtle of *Amboyna* the day aboue written. Subſcribed.

Harman Van Speult,
Laurence de Marſchalck,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
Iohn Iohnſon Viſcher,
Iohn Van Leeuwen,

Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Iohnſon Vogell,
Iohn Iooſten,
Iacob Cooper,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Peter Ianſen Van Zantem,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Corthals Secretarie.

Vnder was written, collationed with the Originall, and found to agree with the ſame in ſubſtance. Done the 29. of *March*, 1623. in the Caſtle of *Amboyna*. Subſcribed.

Fredericke Houtman, Martin Souck, Iohn Iacobſon Wincoop, Garrit Fredericke, Delbit Veſterman, Laurence de Marſchalck, Iohn Van Leeuwen, Leonard Clocq, Iſaack Migielſon Bogace, Peter Ianſen Van Zanten.

Wee whoſe names are here vnder-written, being ſervants vnto the honourable *Engliſh* Companie in the *East-Indies*, having beene required by the Worſhipfull *Harman Van Speult* Governour of *Amboyna*, to examine the proceſſe of Captaine *Towerſon* and his Complices, being written in *Dutch* and *Engliſh*. Wee haue heard and read the ſaid Proceſſe in two Languages, and according to our judgements, and as we can comprehend it, the ſubſtance of both the tranſlations agree in ſubſtance. Thus done in

the Castle of *Amboyna* the 23. of *May* 1623. *Stilo Angliæ*. And is subscribed by those whose names hereafter follow. To wit;

Richard Welding,
Iohn Cartwright,
Henry Gill,
Iohn Van Nieupoort,
Rowland Hollers,
George Williams.

Collation being made of this Translation with the Authentick Copy sent from the *Indies*, and subscribed as aforesaid, is found to agree therewith. The 12. of *August* 1624.

By me the Secretarie of the *States* Generall, of the *Vnited Provinces*.

I. Van Goch.

FINIS.

A

REPLY TO THE REMONSTRANCE

of the Bewinthebbers or Directors of the Netherlands *East India* Company, lately exhibited to the Lords States Generall, in justification of the proceedings of their Officers at *Amboyna*, against the *English* there.

THe Directors of the Netherlands *East-India* Company, finding it needful to defend their Officers at *Amboyna* by this *Remonstrance*, referre themselues in the first place vnto a former deduction which they had exhibited vnto the *Lords States* in *July* last: Wherein they professe still to insist. And considering (say they) the infallible *Indicia* that preceded the discovery of this conspiracy, and the just and *A.*

Legall proceedings vſed againſt the Complices, appearing by the judicial acts ſigned aſwell by the paties examined, as by the *Governor and Councell* of *Amboyna*, who are a *Colledge* or *Court* of Iudges admitted and ſworne; againſt which no proofe, much leſſe any vaine and frivolous ſuſpitions ought to be admitted, they therfore conceived (vntil they ſee the contrary) that the *Conſpirators* (as they call them) were lawfully, and rightly apprehended, the fact well proved, according to the Law and Cuſtome of the *Low-Countries*, and conſequently that the puniſhment was lawfully inflicted, with moderation of the rigour of Iuſtice and with clemency.

This deduction of the moneth of *Iuly* here mentioned, hath not beene yet imparted to the *Engliſh Eaſt-India Company*. Otherwiſe they would haue examined the ſame, as they did the Relation printed in the Scheme of a letter Miſſive. Which yet they verily beleeue to be the very ſame in effect, and compiled by the ſame pen; for that it appeareth by comparing of the printed Pamphlet, with the acts of this Proceſſe at *Amboyna*, here mentioned (copie whereof was communicated to the ſaid *Engliſh Companie*) that the body of the ſaid Pamphlet, (the preamble excepted) was wholy taken out of the ſame acts; onely with ſome ſophiſtication, of the act touching Maſter *Towerſons* pretended voluntary confeſſion, noted in the *Anſwere* to the ſame Pamphlet. Wherfore although it may be ſuppoſed that this deductiõ here referred vnto, is already ſufficiently anſwered in the ſaid anſwere to the *Dutch* Relation; yet becauſe in this very recitall of the *Directors*, there are certain generall heads, either recapitulated out of that deduction,

duction, or laid for new grounds of the juſtification of the *Dutch* proceedings; it will not be amiſſe to examine them as they lie.

And firſt for the infallible *Indicia* pretended to haue preceeded the diſcovery; it is ſhewed in the anſwer to the Pamphlet, that the *Indicia* to torture the firſt *Iapon* (which was the beginning of the whole Proceſſe) were inſufficient in law: the behaviour that this *Iapon* vſed, and vpon which he was apprehended, being none other, then that which is & may be vſed by any Souldier in the place where he ſerveth, without blame or ſuſpition. For other *Indicia*, there was not the leaſt; neither of proviſions of the *Engliſh* for ſuch an exploit, nor of Letters to or from any *Complice*, nor of ſuſpitious conferences, meſſages, or intelligẽcies, nor of flight or cloſe keeping of the parties; nor any other agreeing with the rules or examples given by the law, or the Authors commenting thereupon. But being deſtitute of theſe & the like lawful *Indicia*, the *Dutch* Officers were fain to fetch their *Indicia* out of the *Racke*, and to make the confeſſion of one tortured perſon *Indiciũ* to torture another, contrary to the very expreſſe direction of the law. Some confeſſions indeed, were without actuall torture of the perſons themſelues: but even ſuch had heard the cryes and ſeen the bodies of others tortured and martyred before them; which feare of the *Torture* is by the law equalled to the torture it ſelfe, as hath been ſhewed in the ſaid anſwere.

The ſecond generall ground here laid, is the juditiall acts of the Colledg of Iudges at *Amboyna*, ſhewing their juſt and legall proceedings. The Acts indeed of

any Court of Iuſtice being orderly kept, yeeld a very ſufficient proofe in the point of fact in Court: that is, they proue that ſuch and ſuch examinations, confeſſions, proofes, and evidences were taken and made; and ſuch judgment therevpon given as is therein entred. But for the point of *Iuſtice*, that muſt be judged by the comparing of the proofes with the ſentence grounded vpon them. Now as touching the orderly keeping of theſe *acts* imparted to the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company as aforeſaid: the ſame are neither agreable to the formes of other Courts, nor vniform in themſelues. For the point of conformity to other Courts, it is not here meant to require, that the Acts of the Councel of *Amboyna* ſhould in every point agree with the formes of every Court in the *Low-Countries*; the ſeverall Courts wherof haue their ſeverall formes & ſtile, and ſome differences in points not ſubſtantiall. But ſome generall requiſites of forme ther be, which are obſerved in all Courts; yet omitted in theſe *Acts* of *Amboyna*. As firſt the date of every dayes paſſages ought to be prefixed or annexed vntò them; which is not obſerved in the ſaid Acts. But in theſe Acts the examination of all the *Engliſh*, being 18. ſeveral priſoners, goeth vnder the date of the 25. of *February*: although the confeſſions are ſo many and ſo large, as could not poſſibly be taken in one day: yea 3. of the ſame priſoners, to wit, *Powle*, *Wetherall*, and *Ladbrook*, were but apprehended firſt vpon the 26. of *February*, and that at *Cambello* the outmoſt factory in *Seran*, and arrived not at *Amboyna* (where theſe examinations were taken) vntill the ſecond of *March ſtilo novo*. So that they could not be examined at *Amboyna* the 25. of

February,

February, as the Acts import. Next, it is a ſolemnitie in all Courts, to note in the Acts, the day of the examination of the *Priſoner* vpon the *Torture*, or in the place of the *Torture*; and then the act of his ſubſcription to his confeſſion vpon another day. For theſe two may not be done vpon the ſame day by the Law: but the confeſſion muſt be iterated and confirmed by the Priſoner being free of bonds and irons, at leaſt a day after the ſence or ſight of the torture: elſ it is not held for good, and concluding againſt the partie that confeſſed it. But in all theſe Acts of *Amboyna*, there is but one date and one Act for both theſe: contrary to the Law it ſelfe, and the Cuſtome and forme of all Courts. Thirdly, the acts ought to ſpecifie whither the Priſoner confeſſeth vpon *Torture* or without. But theſe acts doe not ſo: but onely in the generall; in the beginning of the acts of the 26. of *February*, it is entred, that ſome confeſſed before *Torture*, others with little *Torture* as followeth, &c. Whereby it appeareth not, who was tortured and who not; nor what was confeſſed with, and what without torture. Fourthly, the acts ought to ſpecifie what finally becometh of every priſoner; but in theſe Acts there is no entry made what became of *Sherrocke*, *Webber*, and two of the *Iapons*, to wit, *Soyſimo* and *Sacoube*; theſe being by the Acts neither condemned, nor abſolved, nor reprived; and yet all foure are *de facto* diſmiſſed and ſet at libertie.

As for the point of Vniformity in the Acts themſelues, *Collins* & *Beamount* are diſpoſed of by ſpeciall Act; yet *Sherrock*, *Webber*, and the two *Iapons* (all in the ſame caſe) are diſcharged, as before, without any Act for it. Yea there is an Act entred for diſpoſing of the

Portugalls wife, though ſhee were neither accuſed nor examined: as if ſhee had beene a partie to the Proceſſe, rather then *Sherrock*, *Webber*, and theſe two *Iapons*, againſt all whom the *Fiſcall* craved judgment. Further ſome of the Examinations haue the Governour and his Councels names ſubſcribed to them, & ſome not: ſome of the confeſſions haue the priſoners names ſubſcribed and ſome not; with divers other defects and diſconformities, which eaſily and plainely diſcover that they are not allowable for orderly and authenticall *Acts* of a *Court* of *Iuſtice*.

Thus hath beene ſhewed what credit may bee given to theſe Acts in the point of fact therein recorded. Now for the point of *iuſtice*, appearing by comparing the proofes againſt the priſoners with the ſentence, it is in the firſt place to be noted, that ther is no proof nor evidence of any thing entred in all the ſaid Acts, no not ſo much as a witneſſe named, much leſſe depoſed, of the leaſt *Indicium* againſt the priſoners, or any of them; but onely the meere confeſſions of the priſoners themſelues, drawn from them by the paine or juſt feare of torture. Which meere confeſſiõ of the parties without other *Indiciũ* or proof, is no ſufficient ground to condemne any by the Law of the *Low-Countries*.

Secondly, it is a *Requiſite* of their Law, that the priſoners ſubſcribe their confeſſions being free of bonds and irons. Now neither is there any mention in all the Acts of any ſuch free confeſſion, and all our people that eſcaped are ready to confirme vpon their oathes, that from the firſt apprehenſion vntil the houre of going to the execution, there was no intermiſſion of the fetters.

Third-

Thirdly, the ſame confeſſions are full of contrarieties: as one while that the plot ſhould bee executed, when ſome *Engliſh* ſhip or ſhippes ſhould be there arrived, the people whereof ſhould aſſiſt in the exploit: another while, that when the Caſtle was taken, then Maiſter *Towerſon* would firſt ſend to *Iaccatra* for aſſiſtance. Likewiſe, one while that it ſhould be attempted when the *Dutch* Governor was abroad vpon ſome enterprize: another while that the Governor himſelfe ſhould be killed in the Caſtle. Further, one while that all the *Iapons* were wonne to the plot, before Maiſter *Towerſon* opened it to the *Engliſh*, and conſulted with them; another while, that he ſent out ſome of the *Engliſh* eight dayes after that conſultation, then to winne the *Iapons*: alſo one while, that the *Iapons* had conſulted divers times with Maiſter *Towerſon* himſelfe in the *Engliſh* houſe; another while that they never treated with Maſter *Towerſon* himſelf, but with others in his name; with other like contradictions, differences, and incertainties. Further, the place, perſons and time were ſpecified to *Abell Price* in his examination, contrary to the Law. In the laſt place, the thing confeſſed to bee plotted, was not onely impoſſible to be atchieved by ſuch meanes and manner of execution as was confeſſed: but as impoſſible alſo to come into the imagination of any man in his wits: as is already ſufficiently ſhewed in the anſwer to the *Dutch* Relation. By which premiſſes appeareth, that as well through defect of other proofe, beſides the meere confeſſions of the priſoners and that in Irons; as in reſpect of the incertaintie, inconſtancy, and contrarietie of the ſame confeſſions, the ſpecification and leading examinations, together with

with the impossibility of the truth of the thing confessed, there is in these Acts no lawfull ground for the sentence of condemnation.

The third general ground that is laid in this Remonstrance is, that the Acts were signed by the prisoners themselues, and by the Councell of *Amboyna*, which is a Court or Colledge of Iudges admitted and sworn: and therefore no proofes, much lesse any vaine and frivolous suspitions may be admitted to the contrary.

As for the subscription of the Prisoners to their confessions; of what value that is without other *Indicia* and proofes hath beene already declared. Now that no proofes may be admitted against sworne Iudges, is a strange *Maxime:* which being granted, must needs inferre either that such Iudges cannot erre and judge vnjustly; or else that how ever they carry themselues, their doings must not be examined, much lesse punished. So that then the Law hath in vaine provided punishment for a Iudge in case of wrong imprisonment, causelesse vnorderly torture, and of vnjust absolving or condemning, and the like; for which there are so many and so diligent provisions. It may be thought indeed, that vnder this confidence this whole processe was begun and followed; as the safest and faireſt way to bee ridde of the *English*, without such reckoning as was formerly made for the courses of open hostility. But if this way goe for currant, though towards a forraigne Nation: how comes it that by the Law and custome of Nations, so many Reprizalles & warres haue bin made for injustice done by the Iudges of one Nation to the people of another, when none other redresse could be obtained; yea and may times in such foule

foule cauſes as this, without any demand of redreſſe?

B. Theſe grounds aforeſaid, being thus laid, this *Remonſtrance* proceedeth to take notice of two ſeverall Diſcourſes ſpread as well in *England* as in the *Low-Countries* againſt the *Dutch* cauſe of *Amboyna*: the firſt, a briefe Collection of the effect of certaine Letters written by the *Engliſh* Factors at *Iacatra*, dated the 19 of *Iune*, 1623. The ſecond, a more ample Writing, entituled, *A true Relation of the cruell and barbarous Tortures and Execution of the Engliſh at Amboyna by the Dutch there.* The former of theſe, this *Remonſtrance* chargeth with paſſion and great vehemency; becauſe it doth by way of prejudice, enſtile the Proceſſe of *Amboyna*, an vnjuſt and barbarous murder: and aggravateth the faſhion and manner of the Tortures. So it vouchſafeth this none other anſwere; but this note of paſſion; and that it falſely nameth the *Iapons* executed, to be the ſervants of the *Engliſh*; Whereas in truth they were the ſervants of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*. What or whoſe this Diſcourſe thus excepted againſt and thus anſwered is; the *Engliſh Company* knowes not. Yet they beleeue not that any of the *Engliſh* partie, would (except it were by a ſlip of the penne) call theſe *Iapons*, ſervants of the *Engliſh*: the ſame being contrary to all the reports and advertiſements that came from *Amboyna* and *Iacatra*; it is likewiſe to be preſumed, that if in that Writing there had beene any thing els, which they could haue anſwered, they would not haue diſmiſſed it as they doe. For, as for the terming the execution, *An vnjuſt and barbarous murder*; that were no more cauſe to reject the Diſcourſe without further anſwere; then the like ſtile given it in the very

title of the ſecond and larger Writing, which nevertheleſſe hath obtained a more particular Anſwer.

C. Having given the firſt Writing this quicke diſpatch, the *Remonſtrance* proceedeth to the anſwere of the Relation ſet out by the *Engliſh Eaſt India Company*; and in the firſt place chargeth it with an impertinent deſcription (in the very introduction) of the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, and the *Dutch* Garriſons and Forces there; to the end (ſaith this *Remonſtrance*) to ſhew that there was no likelihood nor probability that the *Engliſh* there would vndertake the ſurprize of the Caſtle; being a thing impoſſible to be done: as if (ſaith the *Remonſtrance*) the want of vnderſtanding in the Conſpirators, and the fooliſh ground of their project (all other accuſations ceaſing) ſhould haue excuſed them from puniſhment: the contrary whereof is every where obſerved.

Here in the very firſt ſteppe of the Anſwere, the end of the *Engliſh* Company in ſetting out the impoſſibilitie of the fact, is either miſtaken or traduced. For if the conſpiracy had beene ſufficiently proved according to the direction even of the Lawes by which the *Dutch* are governed; then the probabilitie or poſſibilitie of the fact had never beene alledged. For in ſuch caſe it is true, that the fooliſhneſſe of the plot excuſeth no man. But when there is no other proofe or evidence, but the meere confeſſion of the priſoner, (which is the preſent caſe) then the very text of the Law of treaſon, enjoyneth the Iudge to conſider the perſon of the priſoner; whether hee bee able to execute ſuch a thing as he is accuſed of, whether he ever practiſed the like

like before; what he meant; and whether he were in his wits or no; and ſuch like; For without theſe conſiderations, the ſlippery confeſſion of the tongue ought not to be the ground of the puniſhment. This is their Law, according to which if they had proceeded, the *Engliſh* had never needed to alledge theſe impoſſibilities; which the Iudges themſelues ought to haue conſidered. But not having done it, they haue made themſelues guiltie of vnjuſt Iudgement; which to proue, the impoſſibilitie of the fact is both pertinent and neceſſary.

But the better to inforce the former anſwer, the *Remonſtrance* ſaith, that this preſumption of the impoſſibilitie of the fact ought not to be conſidered, againſt a veritie altogether notorious, and proved, againſt the confeſſions of the priſoners themſelues, and againſt the conſcience & teſtimony of ſo many men of worth and credit, that managed this affayre, and againſt a Court or Colledge of Iudges, &c. in publique Office and ſworne. D.

All this is but a Rhetoricall flouriſh, and being examined, will vaniſh into the ayre as a meere ſound. For firſt for the notorioufneſſe of the pretended conſpiracie; although now *ex poſt facto*, they cry it out for notorious; yet at the time when the notorietie ſhould haue beene conſidered, which was before the apprehenſion, torturing, and execution of our people; there was not the leaſt breath of ſuch a fame. It is now too late to alledge a notorietie, that themſelues haue made who alledge it. As for the proofes here mentioned; Why haue they not at any time ſpecified them? If there be none other proofes beſides the meere confeſ-

feſſions (as other the Acts doe not ſo much as mention) why then are proofes & confeſſions here diſtinctly acumulated; as if there were any other proofes beſides the ſaid confeſſions? As for the conſcience and teſtimony of thoſe that managed the Proceſſe, being a publique and ſworne Colledge of Iudges; it is not at all to be reckoned of; when it appeareth that they haue not proceeded according to the Law. And if this plea might be admitted, no Iudge ſhould ever bee found guilty of injuſtice. Further, if the very qualitie of the Iudges be conſidered, it will rather hurt then helpe them: there were none amongſt them that had any ordinary knowledge in the Law, whereby they vndertake to judge cauſes: beſides their young yeares and wicked liues: which if it were pertinent to the cauſe in queſtion, might be ſet forth by many ſpeciall inſtances. But if they were never ſo learned, experienced, or well famed; yet that would not availe when they haue proceeded againſt the preſcript of their owne Law (to ſay nothing here of the treatie) as they are ſufficiently proved to haue done.

But this *Remonſtrance* not truſting to this Anſwere, in ſlighting the improbability and impoſſibility of the fact, as not worth the conſidering; yet for all that, in the next place laboureth and ſweateth to make the fact ſeeme probable and poſſible, the contrary whereof in vs that hold the contrary part, it rejecteth as impertinent; It is impertinent for vs to ſhew the improbabilitie and impoſſibilitie of the fact; and yet pertinent for them to ſhew the contrary probabilitie and poſſibilitie? But let vs ſee and conſider their preſumptions.

E. Firſt (they ſay) they haue already proved, that the *Engliſh*

glish for a diversion of the *Dutch* Forces in the Castle, had invited and induced all the *Ternatans*, *Seranians*, and neighbouring *Indians* to rebell, and doe violence to the *Dutch*, that when the *Dutch* Governour should haue drawne the maine of his Forces of men and shipping that way, then the *English* might with ease take the Castle so emptied and denuded of her Forces.

How vaine this point is, is already manifested in the Answer to the *Dutch* Relation. And as for the proofes here mentioned, there is in all the Acts not so much as any offer made of any proofe of this point.

But it is worthy againe to be noted, that here the device and *Scene* is changed. For where in the *Dutch* Relation it is said, (though no where proved) that the *Ternatans* of *Loho*, should haue come with their *Curricurryes* to assist Maister *Towerson* at *Amboyna*, and that the *Dutch* Governour must haue beene killed there in the Castle by the *Iapons*; now he must be gone with all his Forces out of the Island to tame those *Ternatans*, and the rest of the *Seranians* & neighbouring *Indians*: that the *English* might surprize the Castle in their absence. As for the shippes of the *Dutch*, which now also must haue beene absent: it is well knowne, that the service here pretended would neither need, nor could haue vse of their great shippes, but onely of Curry-curries and small Vessels, which also the *Dutch* after vsed, leaving their great shipping in the roade by the Castle.

The strength of the *Dutch* thus extenuated, in the next place, the *Remonstrance* pursuing the argument of possibilitie, amplifieth the Forces of the *English*. And first it delivereth, that the *English* had a great number F.

of slaves in their Factories, which great number is already truely confessed in the answer to the *Dutch* Relation, to be just sixe, and all boyes. Next it is added, that they would also haue stayed their actuall attempt of the Castle, vntill some *English* shippes were arrived there; which point is also at large refuted in the said Answer. Thirdly, here is alledged, that Maister *Towerson* had given charge vnto his other *English*, to haue daily laboured and wonne by vnder-hand practice, other subjects of the *Dutch*, thereby to augment their owne partie, and to weaken the strength of the *Dutch*. Of which point, as there was no probabilitie; so in all the Acts, there is no shadow of proofe thereof made, or so much as endevoured: how ever now the desperate cause requireth the helpe of so grosse a fiction. Fourthly (which is vaunted for the principal argumẽt) it is here seriously observed; that ỹ Castle should haue been surprized by treason and not by siege; and so like enough the *English* (though but few) might by this meanes doe wonders. A very poore note; as if the *English* Relation had cited impossibilities by way of siege and not as well by way of trechery. But besides that, this argument beggeth the maine question; to wit, that there was indeed such a treason: was there ever any such treason or stratagem practized in any Countrey, to surprize a Castle by a small force; without a competency of seconds to make good and hold that which
G. was so entred and possessed? Yet this argument is further enforced, not onely by the opportunitie that the *Iapons* had to betray the Castle; themselues serving as Souldiers therin; but also by the extraordinary valour and hardinesse of that Nation, set forth by two seuerall

Apo-

Apochriphal Legends of ſtrange feats of other *Iapons*; without ſpecifying of the number of them that performed theſe wonders, but leauing a blanke to helpe the tale at their pleaſure. But let it be granted that the *Iapons* are all Gyants and had opportunity being truſted: yet is it likely, that the *Dutch* Gouernour in his expedition here ſuppoſed againſt the Rebells of *Seran*, and the other *Indians*, would haue left ſuch Worthies idle in their Caſtle at home, and not haue taken them with them, according to their Cuſtome? Would they haue withdrawne their *Dutch*, and truſted ſuch ſtrangers with their Caſtle, being yet ſo ſuſpitious of them, that they would torture them for asking an ordinary harmeleſſe queſtion? O miſerable preſumptions! And yet here we haue all the particulars that are alledged, or could be inuented.

In the next place, the Remonſtrants returne to the anſwere of the *Engliſh* Relation: finding themſelues grieued, that their Councell of *Amboyna* is charged to haue forged this crime againſt the *Engliſh*, thereby to be ridd of their company, and ſo to enioy the trade there alone. For their purgation wherein, here are diuers arguments alledged. As firſt, that if they had not liked their company there, it had beene eaſier and fairer to haue kept them out, when they were out, then to haue ſo caſt them out after there admiſſion of them by the Treatie, *Ann.* 1619. And God forbid (ſaith the *Remonſtrance*,) that any ſhould vſe ſuch wicked and bloudy meanes for ſo poore an end, as onely to driue the *Engliſh* out of *Amboyna*. *H.*

It is true ordinarily; *Turpius eiicitur &c.* It is more diſcurteſie to turne out a gueſt, then at firſt to deny him

him entertainment. But ſometimes there may be ſuch a neceſſitie, as that a man muſt needs, for avoyding of a greater inconuenience, entertaine the gueſt, whom he is as glad to be ridd of, as he was vnwilling to receiue him. And ſometimes a man entertaineth a gueſt in hope of ſome benefit to be made by him; whereof afterwards being fruſtrate, he will gladly be quit of his gueſt as ſoone as he findeth himſelfe defeated of his hoped ends. Both theſe conſiderations haue had their place in this entertaining of the *Engliſh* by the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* and other places. For the former, all that are acquainted with the occaſion, and the paſſages of the Treatie of the yeare 1619. know very well, that there was then none other or better way or meane, for the *Hollanders Eaſt India Company*, to giue ſatisfaction to the *King Maieſty* for the bloud of many of his people, and the inualuable damage done vnto the *Engliſh Cnmpany* by the ſaid *Hollanders* vniuſt taking of their ſhippes and goods, onely in reſpect of their lawfull trade into the Iſlands of the *Molouccoes* and *Banda*; but the accommodation of the whole matter, by admitting of the *Engliſh Eaſt India Company* into the participation of the trade in thoſe Iſlands, and this of *Amboyna*. Which being yeelded vnto with great difficultie; yet the ſaid *Dutch* with might and maine reſerued the Forts which they were then poſſeſſed of, in their owne hands: thereby ſtill retaining the power and opportunitie to maſter the *Engliſh*, and weary them of their lodging at their pleaſure. In the next place, it ſeemeth by their after-courſe that hauing ſo aſſured themſelues of the Forts and Maſtring power, they hoped to make benefit by this partnerſhip; by the orde-

ring

ring of their Accompts in ſuch manner, as that the *Engliſh* ſhould pay their part of the charge as well of the Garriſons as of their new buildings, and of the warres which they vndertooke for enlarging the *Dutches* Dominion, and all this in ready money, whileſt the *Dutch* furniſhed their owne ſhare in commodities, and at what prizes they liſt. Now when the *Dutch* in the *Indies* ſaw, that the *Engliſh* there would not ſuffer themſelues to be thus bridled and ſadled; but made their proteſts and complaints againſt this dealing: they ſought meanes to be quit of them. And finding that the blunt way of fact would not be well taken, but giue a new offence to the King, (eſpecially after the Treaty to the contrary) they deuiſe this new meane to thruſt out their vnwelcome gueſts with leſſe bloud-ſhed then they before had kept them out with, and with leſſe feare of accompting for the ſame, being done vnder the faire colour of Iuſtice; which point being clearely enough touched in the very Introduction of the *Engliſh Relation*, this *Remonſtrance* profeſſing an anſwere to the whole, yet paſſeth ouer this with a dry foote, and deepe ſilence: yea, it minceth the very matter whereof it ſeemes to take notice, making the charge againſt them to be onely the driuing of the *Engliſh* out of *Amboyna*, where the *Engliſh Relation* chargeth them to haue contriued and executed this bloudy buſineſſe, with intention to driue them (the *Engliſh*) out of the *Moluccoes* and *Banda* alſo, as well as out of *Amboyna*. Which end and drift of the worke how euer is ſlighted here by the *Remonſtrants*, yet it appeareth of what value it is in their ſecret eſtimation, by that which they haue formerly done to keepe the *Engliſh*

from the trade of those Ilands.

I. Yet further to cleare themselues of this end and designe, they alledge that the *Netherlands East India Company* here in *Europe* neuer gaue any Cõmission to their Officers at *Amboyna*, to put such a thing as this in practise, nor could haue any benefit thereby, but rather losse: and the Officers themselues were too honest and wise to haue executed such a Commission: especially since themselues should haue no profit by it, but incurre great danger of giuing accompt for the same.

For the point of Commission, the *English Companie* doth not charge the *Dutch Company*, nor the whole Colledg of *Directors*, with any such proiect or direction. Neither doe they thinke that any one amongst them, would by his priuate aduice incite the Gouernor of *Amboyna*, to this or the like fact in particular. But they cãnot tell whether some one or few amongst them of speciall place and authoritie; and of like respect with their Offiers in the *Indies*, may not vpon some discontent or dislike of the Treatie & the effects thereof, haue giuen aduice to the principall Officers of the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, to lay hands and make vse of any colourable occasiõ, to weary the *English* of the trade established by the Treatie; and so the Gouernor of *Amboyna*, may haue fallen vpon this particular out of such generall grounds of aduice. Which suspitiõ of the *English Company*, ariseth not onley from the earnest and strayned defence & instification, which they now obserue to be made of this execrable fact; but also frõ a passage that fell out here in *London* immediately after the Treatie *An.* 1619. which now this dispute calleth to their remembrance. And herein they report themselues

selues to the memorie and conscience of those of the *Dutch* directors, that were then employed in the forming of an explanation of the Articles of the Treatie, intituled; *The Order of Execution, &c.* whether one of them appearing highly discontented, for that the *English* would not condescend to a proposition of theirs, about the order of selling out the Spices here in *Europe*, did not then in a vehement manner threaten the *English* (that dealt with them about that point) that they should repent them of their dissent herein: which the *English* not vnderstanding by all the disputes, how it could come to passe in the course of trade, if the treatie were obserued, still persisted in their former resolution. Whereupon the said partie with the rest of the *Dutch*, desired that it might be noted in the Iournall of the Conference; that they had forewarned them, that there would a great incõuenience follow by reason of this dissent of the *English*, which was noted in the same Iournall accordingly. What this carriage might portend, or what directiõs might begiuen in consequence of this discontent, the *English Company* leaue to be iudged by others: hauing themselues neuer since in the course of their sale of the Spices, without obseruation of the order (then desired by the *Dutch*) found any inconuenience but rather aduantage; As for the benefit of the *Dutch*, by driuing the *English* from the trade of the *Moluccoes*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, it may be esteemed (as is before noted) by the courses that the *Dutch* formerly tooke to keepe the *English* out of that trade. And for their contrary benefit here also pretended by holding the *English* in the communion of that trade: It is true, that as long as the *English* would pay readie

money, the *Dutch* paying in wares, would beare their share of the charge of Fortifications and Conquests, whereof the benefit accrued wholy to the *Dutch*, as long as they would joyne with the *Dutch* to find the Enemy worke in one place, while the *Dutch* might thereby the easier winne for themselues onely in another place: so long the *Dutch* might easily make benefit of their partnership, and abide their sharing with them for one third part of that trade. But when the *English* shewed themselues sensible of this *Leonine* Societie, and protested against it, and refused to pursue the Action of defence in such a course: Then it was time to seeke out an occasion to be vtterly freed from their partnership, now proving otherwise then was before hoped. As touching the honestie of their Officers at *Amboyna* here alledged, there hath been enough said already. And for their benefit also by thus ridding themselues of the *English*, who knoweth not what benefit may be expected by being an Instrument of so great profit, atchieving it by such a conveyance, wherein who ever giveth Commission, is by joynt guilt obliged to gratifie and promote his instrument even for his owne safetie? Besides their Officers had their owne private quarrels against the *English* for their daily cõplaints against their riotous liuing, and the great expence thereof, derived in the greatest part vpon the *English* by the Acts aboue-mentioned. Especially the Gouernour himselfe had a maine griefe, that the *English* had often complained to the *Councel* of Defence at *Iaccatra*, of the extraordinary & excessiue charge of his Table & other expences: which by the Iournal of the consultations of the said *Councel* appeareth to haue bin

a matter of much diſpute there, and was at laſt promiſed by the *Dutch* partie to be reformed. Another quarrell alſo the ſame Governour had againſt the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, about a *Dutch-man* that was executed for killing of an *Engliſh-man*; which *Dutch-man* when the Governour could not fairely ſaue, (the fact being too foule and manifeſt to beare it) he was ſo offended with the *Engliſh* proſecution of the matter, that he ſolemnly vowed, if ever any of the *Engliſh* came within his compaſſe, ſuch ſhould repent that none of them had interceded for the life of the ſaid *Dutch-man*. Laſtly, it muſt be remembred, that at the time of this forged crime, the newes of the Match with *Spaine* was very rife and hot at *Amboyna*; wherewith how all the *Dutch* there were enraged, and what inſolent ſpeeches they vſed of the Kings Majeſtie, is well enough knowne; though thought vnmeete to be here recited.

Having thus laboured to cleare the finall cauſe of this Proceſſe, the *Remonſtrants* returne to charge the *Engliſh* (that are executed) with other arguments of their pretended Treaſon. As (ſay they) if it were not a true treaſon, why came the *Iapon* (that was firſt apprehended vpon the walles) and made ſuch curious inquiſition about the ſetting of the Watch, and of the *Dutch* Forces in the Caſtle? How came it that being examined, he forthwith ſpake ſo pertinently of this treaſon? If he were ſuborned by the *Dutch*, why then did they execute him? Why did he accuſe his owne Countrymen as well as the *Engliſh*? Why ſhould the *Dutch* thus vſe the *Iapons*, whom they had no cauſe otherwiſe to hate? K.

The first of these questions is already answered before, to wit, that the *Iapon* did nothing herein, but what any Souldier may lawfully, and is wont to doe without blame or just suspition. It importeth every Souldier to know the strength of the place where he serveth, and the order and course of the service, as is said in the answere to the *Dutch* Relation. The second question would be as easily answered, if it had seemed good to those that kept the Acts, to haue kept faithfull Record in them of the Interrogatories ministred to this *Iapon* in his tortures. But the *English* Relation in the Examinations of *Collins*, *Sherrock*, and *Beomont*, hath discovered the Art vsed in all the rest; to wit, the leading Interrogatories, or rather Directories, specifying to the prisoner what he might say to come quit of the torture: As for the suborning of this *Iapon* by the *Dutch* here mentioned in the third question; The *English* easily grant that he was not suborned, but (which is worse) he was tortured to make him accuse both the *English* and his owne Countrymen) the *Iapons*; which also answereth the fourth question of this Rhetoricall Dialogisme. And for the fift and last question, why the *Dutch* should also practise the *Iapons* destruction: it is easily conceived, that els the *English* should haue seemed to haue had no Complices, nor hope of assistance of other Nations, which would haue made their crime appeare more impossible to be a true charge then now it doth; although (as now it is) it is vtterly voide of all probabilitie and possibilitie. And is it any wonder they would sacrifice the bloud of tenne Infidells for that end, for which they spared not tenne Christians, and those of that Nation which most agreeth

greeth with themſelues in Religiõ, and to whom they are of all other Nations moſt beholden?

In the next place, the *Remonſtrance* proceedeth to anſwere a circumſtance related by the *Engliſh*, that the *Iapons* being examined three or foure daies before them, they yet fled not: wherby they ſhewed their innocency. To the conſequence of which argument the *Remonſtrance* firſt anſwereth, that the *Engliſh* did this to avoyde great ſuſpition, being ſure enough they could not fly: the Governour had (even to their knowledge) taken ſuch order to ſtop all paſſages, as well of all other Merchants that then frequented *Amboyna*, as of the *Engliſh*. L.

This is a meere fiction: for the Curricurries and other Veſſels departed as freely from *Amboyna* while the *Iapons* were in examination, as at any time before. And if the Governor had vſed never ſo much circumſpection herein, and the *Engliſh* had knowne of it, yet how could ſo many guilty conſciences haue contained themſelues, and not one of them all haue attempted to flie or hide or diſguiſe himſelfe in all this time? All men know that a guilty conſcience provoketh men to attempt eſcapes aboue and againſt all reaſon. And therefore the law ever enquireth of the flight or ſhrinking of the accuſed, as a ſpeciall *indicium* of their guilt. Why did not the *Dutch* then in their examinations, queſtion and fift out by what conſultation and agreement, all the *Engliſh* came to be of one mind, to ſhew ſuch confidence in this caſe?

But to make a further and better anſwer to this argument, the *Remonſtrance* chargeth the matter of it with vntruth: Saying that the examination of the *Iapons*

pons began the 24. of *February*, and that the next day after, to wit, the 25. the *Engliſh* were ſeized; So that here was but one dayes reſpite for the *Engliſh* to ſhift for themſelues.

M. This impudence is very ſtrange; for, the Acts of the Proceſſe record, the beginning of the examination of the *Iapons* to be the 23. of *February*, and the reſolution to ſeize the *Engliſh* to be the 26. which is the third day after *incluſiuè*. It is well we haue a copie of their Acts, (ſuch as they are) els we ſee into how many formes this *Proteus* would turne, to avoyde the true diſcovery.

N. After this the *Remonſtrants* with the like modeſtie note another vntruth in the *Engliſh* Relation, where it affirmeth that the *Engliſh* had not any converſation with the *Iapons*; the contrary whereof (ſay the *Remonſtrants*) appeareth as well by the confeſſions of the *Engliſh* as the *Iapons*, and particularly by Maiſter *Towerſons* voluntary confeſſion, made long time after his examination.

What credit the Acts and confeſſions may deſerue, is already ſhewed: and the very perſons themſelues therein aſſigned to this converſation with the *Iapons*, had no language to ſerue them therein. And for Maſter *Towerſons* voluntary confeſſion pretended to be made ſo many dayes after his examination; beſides the foule play of the *Dutch* vſed in alledging it ſo, already diſcovered in the anſwer of the *Dutch Relation* (which by this very touch appeareth to be the worke of the ſame Penne that wrote this *Remonſtrance*) that pretended voluntary confeſſion hath not one word or mention of the *Iapons* in it: And yet this *Remonſtrance* (having

uing thus ſtoutly proued this point) triumpheth ouer the *Engliſh* Relation, ſaying, that theſe contrarieties and diſſimulations, ſhew that the ſame marueylouſly ſtrayeth and wandereth from the truth; and that the contrary thereof in all points may be taken for true.

After this, the *Remonſtrance* commeth to the examinatiõ of the *Engliſh* priſoners, ſet downe in our Relation: and promiſeth that the particulers thereof ſhall hereafter in time be refuted, & prooued vtterly counterfeit in the moſt and moſt ſubſtantiall points: as ſhall likewiſe that which is there related of the tortures. But why haue they not all this while made, or at leaſt attempted ſome diſproofe hereof? Why could not *Maerſchalcke* (whom they haue now depoſed in other points) haue ſaid ſomething to theſe; being himſelfe the ſecond perſon in the Councell, and acquainted with all that paſſed? Well, ſince they be prooued here by ſixe Witneſſes, let them yet ſtand for true vntill this promiſed Counterproofe arriue; *O.*

But for the point of torture, the *Remonſtrance* anſwereth in the *Interim*, that if the caſe lawfully require, it is no fault in the Iudge to examine vpon the torture: being the Cuſtome in all *Europe*, and particularly in the *Low Countryes*. And if any were tortured, that was done vpon pregnant and waightie *Indicia*, proofes and confeſſions of others.

This hath beene ſufficiently replyed to in the *Engliſh* Anſwere to the *Dutch* Relation, where it is prooued, firſt that the *Engliſh* were not lawfully ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of the Gouernour of *Amboyna* and therefore vnlawfully tortured. Secõdly, that the kinde of torture

vſed, was not agreeable to the Law and Cuſtome of the *Low Countryes*: and laſtly, that there was no ſufficient *Indicium* for the torturing of the firſt *Iapon*, nor none other proofes or *Indicia* againſt the *Engliſh*, but the forced confeſſions of the tortured *Iapons*; which ground of torture is prohibited by their owne Law.

P. Yet further the *Remonſtrants* fetch an argument out of this point of the tortures, in iuſtification of their officers fact at *Amboyna*. If (ſay they) they would haue drawne confeſſions out of the *Engliſh* by tortures: why did not they torture all the *Engliſh*?

This riddle is plainely vnfolded by the ſame *Engliſh* Relation: where it appeareth, that after they had tortured, *Iohnſon Collins*, and *Clark*; glad was that *Engliſhman* that could deuiſe any thing to confeſſe, to pleaſe the *Fiſcall*, and auoyde the torture. Yea, *Sherrock* prayed to God to aſſiſt him in this kinde. Others asked thoſe that had beene formerly examined, what they had confeſſed; ſaying, they would doe the like thereby to ſhunne the crueltie of the torture. As for thoſe that were acquitted (as hauing confeſſed nothing) the *Dutch* plot could not reach them. For hauing laide the conſultation of this pretended conſpiracie at *Amboyna*, where none of theſe foure were vpon *New-yeares* day; they had no colour to torture them, whom their owne people that ſtood by, knew to be ſo farre abſent: And no man imagineth that all the *Dutch* that were by at the torture, were priuie to the intention of the Gouernour; who in this caſe was to carry himſelfe ſo, as that he muſt not make the buſines ſo groſſe, that all that ſtood by might vnderſtand it, It ſufficed him that he caught the chiefe of the *Engliſh* there,

there, and ſuch a number by whoſe example all would afterwards abandon the fatall places.

Laſtly, the *Remonſtrance* gathereth that there was no exceſſe vſed, becauſe ſome of the *Engliſh* were pardoned; to none other end (forſooth) but to giue teſtimony of their whole proceedings. 2.

This indeed is a point wherein the *Dutch* vſed the quinteſſence of their skill: ſo to handle the matter as that they would ſeeme to mixe clemency with Iuſtice; to make their Proceſſe to paſſe the eaſier and fayrer, both among their owne people there, and after when it ſhould come into *Europe*. But he that will but a little conſider what the *Dutch* Governours end and ayme was, will finde, that as he and the *Fiſcall* laboured in all the Proceſſe to reach Captaine *Towerſon* the chiefe of the *Engliſh* there; never ſatisfying themſelues with any confeſſion that made not him guilty (as appeareth in the *Engliſh* Relation:) ſo when they had caught him, and ſo many other of the chiefe of the *Engliſh* there, it was a ſmall matter for them to ſpare a few of the meaner ſort: being aſſured that the execution of the reſt, would be a ſufficient warning for all other *Engliſh men* ever after to keepe their diſtance farre enough from that place. And this tooke ſo right (according to the intention) that all the *Engliſh* as well at the *Moluccoes* and *Banda*, as the poore remnant at *Amboyna* forthwith vpon the newes of this Tragedy, quitted their Factories in all thoſe Iſlands: chooſing rather to leaue the places and their trade there, then their liues for it. For the *Dutch* had ſpoken loud enough, and plaine enough in this action, for all the *Engliſh* to vnderſtand their meaning: who therefore would not ſtay till the

chiefe of them also were thus cut off, and the rest dismissed with their life for a prey, and for an argument of the *Dutch* Officers clemencie. But if these few *English* were saved to this end, in the *Dutches* intention, to giue testimony of all their proceedings, as here is alledged: Why then doe not the *Dutch* receiue and allow of their testimony? For these all with one mouth accuse the *Dutch* to haue proceeded by trechery and most execrable injustice in this whole action: although indeed some of them that were obsolved, confesse vpon oath, that they conceiue the reason and end of the *Dutch* in sparing them, to haue beene in hope that for that favour, they would haue given testimony on their part, when this businesse should come to be examined here in *Europe:* if yet the cause should ever come to be reviewed here; for some of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* declared plainly, that they made accompt the *Spanish* Match would prevent the accompting for this businesse.

R. The next point that the *Remonstrants* note in the *English* Relation of the examination of the prisoners, is the description of the tortures of *Water and fire:* which (they say) is finely and prolixly set forth and embellished, to moove compassion, and to inveagle the Reader, to swallow the rest of the errors and vntruths of the Relation. But that, albeit all torture is in it selfe rough and harsh, especially seemeth so to the *English*, because none is vsed in *England*, but in cases of high treason, yet the torture of Water is the most gentle, civill, and safe of all other kindes of torture: onely causing an oppression and anxietie of breathing and respiration, but no replenishing and swelling of the bodie,

as

as the *Engliſh* Relation ſetteth it out, &c. Yea that all that the ſaid Relation delivereth touching theſe Examinations, is but a bare narration onely without any proofe: or at the moſt is witneſſed but by a very few perſons, and thoſe ſuch, as the cauſe concerneth: in which, being themſelues once judicially convicted, they may not now be admitted and allowed as witneſſes againſt the Iudge and his proceedings, againſt a Court and Councell of foureteene Iudges, perſons well knowne to bee of worth and vertue; and againſt their owne confeſſions legally taken, and confirmed, with their owne ſubſcriptions.

For reply to all this: firſt, for the deſcriptiõ of the tortures, which is here (Icoffingly) ſaid to be ſo laboured & adorned, to moue compaſſion, & make an eaſie way for vntruthes; it is remitted to the reader to peruſe and judg it. It will be found as voyd of this art of painting, as it is of the vntruths which the *Remonſtrants* mentiõ, but ſpecifie not, leaſt they ſhould be cleared, as other pretended vntruths are already in this reply. The cauſe of the *Engliſh* needed no ſuch helpes. The truth of the things delivered in the whole Relation ſo ſhineth in the meere *Series* and circumſtances of the fact, that it diſdained thoſe borrowed colours, feathers, and traſh, wherwith the *Remonſtrants* haue trimmed vp this their anſwer. But it is a ſigne of their penury of matter, that they thus carpe at the ſtyle of the *Engliſh* Relation. As for the gentleneſſe of their torture of Water, that is alſo left to be judged; yea even by the words of this *Remonſtrance*, that acknowledgeth it to be an Oppreſſion and ſtopping of the breath: then which what ſtriveth more with the very life of a man, or more forceth

ceth the nobleſt and tendereſt parts? It is no marvaile that ſome of their owne *Adventurers* tell theſe Directors in Print, that they can cut off another mans eare, with as little feeling as of an old ſhoe. But our people that haue taſted of this *Water-torture* of *Amboyna*, and haue heard thoſe that ſuffred both there make, the cõpariſon, ſay, that this is more terrible and inſupportable for the time, then the torture of fire: how ever the wound of the latter reſteth longer in the fleſh. The ſame men alſo tell vs, (and that vpon their oath) that it is not onely a ſtiffling and oppreſſion of the breath; but alſo a repleniſhing of the body till it be ſwollen and ſtretcht, as in *Clarks* examination is ſet downe: contrary to that, theſe *Remonſtrants* here affirme. Yea, but (ſay they) theſe witneſſes are but a very few, and the ſame alſo parties in this cauſe, and ought not to be heard againſt a Colledge of Iudges, honeſt and ſubſtantiall men, nor againſt their owne former confeſſions. That they are ſo few, wee may thanke the *Dutch* that left vs no more. But all that they haue ſpared vs, agree in one vnanimous and conſtant teſtimony. Neither can there in this caſe be any other proof required. What? Would the *Remonſtrants* haue vs prooue theſe things by the teſtimony of the *Dutch* that were employed in this Proceſſe, and are themſelues guiltie of this maſqued murther? Should we haue brought a Certificate hereof vnder the ſeale of *Amboyna*, with the Governour and his Councels hands to it? What other proofe is the nature of the cauſe capeable of, but ſuch as we bring? And whereas the *Remonſtrants* ſay here, that our witneſſes are parties, and formerly convict in the cauſe; they ſeeme to forget, that their owne Acts

ſhew,

ſhew, that ſome of them were abſolved expreſſely, others never condemned. As for the Credit of the Colledge of Iudges, ſo often repeated, it is already examined in the beginning of this Reply, as alſo in the anſwer to the *Dutch* Relation.

Finally, for the Declarations and Writings of Maſter *Towerſon, Coulſon, Griggs*, and others, ſet downe in the *Engliſh* Relation, theſe *Remonſtrants* ſeeme to doubt whether any ſuch be extant. And for the ſtrange ſignes of the ſtorme, the ſodaine madneſſe and death of *Dunkyn*, and the new ſickneſſe at *Amboyna*, following the execution of the *Engliſh*, which they tearme pretended miracles; they ſay, that the truth can be witneſſed by thoſe that were preſent and about them at the execution, that no ſuch thing happened. And here they adde, that the *Engliſh* ſtirre heaven and earth to conceale and cover this deteſtable fact. But who will ſuppoſe (ſay they) that ſubſtantiall people, (men of approved worth and vertue) would ſhew themſelues ſo impious and inhumane to torture and execute innocent perſons? Much leſſe muſt this be preſumed of a Court of Iudges ſworne and eſtabliſhed. S.

As for the Writings of Maiſter *Towerſon, Coulſon, Griggs*, and others, mentioned in the *Engliſh* Relation, (now doubted of by the *Remonſtrants*) we report vs vnto the Lords of his Majeſties privie Counſell, that haue ſeene them, and to the friends of the parties that know their ſeverall hands; and laſtly, to the ſame Writings themſelues ſtill extant and kept to be ſhewed vpon any occaſion. As for the ſignes related, they are ſworne by our men that came thence, and further to be prooued by Letters written, from ſome that then ſerved,

ved, and (we ſuppoſe) doe yet ſerue the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*, if they be not ſince dead, whereof no newes is yet come. But what Wi neſſe doe the *Remonſtrants* bring, that thoſe things ſo ſet downe with their circumſtances, and ſo the eaſier examined, were not ſo? The truth (ſay they) may be witneſſed by thoſe that were preſent and about the priſoners at the execution. But who be thoſe? Why doth not *Maerſchalcke* in his deſperate oath (anon to be examined) atteſt that there was no ſuch matter as the *Engliſh* pretend? Or why ſhal we reject our peoples teſtimony, and beleeue theſe *Remonſtrants* without any witneſſe? But we ſhall haue witneſſes hereafter. In the *Interim*, then let the thing ſo already witneſſed remaine for true, till it be contradicted by more and better witneſſes. As for the *Engliſh* ſtirring heaven and earth, not to conceale or cover a deteſtable fact of their owne people (as the *Remonſtrance* ſpeaketh) but to diſcover a moſt damned practiſe of the *Dutch*, and to procure Iuſtice vpon it, they conceiue they are not to be blamed herein: yea that it is their dutie to mooue heaven and earth againſt them, that haue mooved hell againſt Innocents.

Now for the honeſtie and credit of their Governour and Councell at *Amboyna*, a ſtring often harped vpon: although it be evident that there is a great difference of the ſtuffe between the Iudges of *Amboyna*, and all other Iudges in the parts of Chriſtendome: yet the honeſty and credit even of the beſt Iudges is no ſufficient defence for them againſt ſuch apparant proofes of Injuſtice, as are extant in this cauſe, even in the acts of the Proceſſe it ſelfe, as is before declared. For the Iudg

that

that in his Proceſſe obſerueth not the order preſcribed by the Law, is reputed as a priuate perſon. Otherwiſe indeed, the Iudge is not without proofe to be preſumed to haue done vniuſtly: but this will not ſerue theſe Iudges. Neither is any partie accuſed, to be preſumed guiltie, without *Indicia* or euidence: but euery man to be preſumed good vntill the contrary be prooued. Which ſhould haue mooued thoſe Iudges of *Amboyna* to haue beene tender and carefull in the *Indicijs*, that were made the pretexts to torture the firſt *Iapon*: and not to torture a poore man for asking an vſuall and harmeleſſe queſtion, yea, and needfull in the place of his ſeruice; as is ſhewed in the anſwere to the *Dutch* Relation. Much more ought they in this reſpect to haue beene tender of taking the extorted confeſſions of the *Iapons*, for a ſufficient *Indicium* againſt Maiſter *Towerſon*, not onely in regard of his qualitie, as being the *Agent* and Cape Merchant for the *Engliſh* there; but alſo of his innocent and harmeleſſe, (yea godly) behauiour at *Amboyna*, and all his life before. For as he was a man of note, and knowne to moſt men of his qualitie here in *England*; ſo all that knew him (eſpecially that were well acquainted with him, wherof there is no ſmall number) ioyne and iumpe in this one opinion & commendations of him, that he was of a moſt faire condition and ſweet diſpoſition, harmeleſſe, and without ſpleene or gall; and (in a word) the vnlikelieſt *Engliſhman* that ever went into the *Eaſt Indies*, to be a plotter or practiſer of ſuch a fact as he was condemned of.

The *Remonſtrants* having thus finiſhed their anſwer to the *Engliſh* Relation, affirme that by their deduction *T.*

of *July*, and this anſwere, they haue ſufficiently juſtified the proceedings of their Officers at *Amboyna*; neuertheleſſe *ex abundanti* they produce further evidence out of an atteſtation of Signeur *Houtman* their late Governour in the *Moluccoes*. Which becauſe it is afterwards againe repeated in ſeverall Articles, ſhall be there with the reſt anſwered.

V. In the meane time, they appeale to the Lords States generall, whether they haue not by all this given ſufficient ſatisfaction and cauſe to the *Engliſh Company*, to abate and let fall their ſuit, leaving the blame vpon the Authors of this abominable conſpiracy (as they call it) and of their owne misfortune. Neverthleſſe, not daring to goe to tryall of the maine cauſe vpon theſe their allegations and proofes, they pray that there may be no precipitation vſed, but a fit reſpit granted them for the exact enquiry of the truth in the *Indies*: and that in the meane time, they may haue the protection of the Lords States, and all miſunderſtanding and contrary deductions may ceaſe; at leaſt proviſionally. For put caſe (ſay they) that their Officers be truely guiltie (as the *Engliſh* pretend) yet they muſt be heard before they can be condemned. And in their opinion (ſay they) the ground of the *Conuſance* of this cauſe muſt come from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, and thence hether: and time convenient being given, there will doubtleſſe come daily more and more cleare proofes and light in the cauſe. As for themſelues, they at laſt plainly confeſſe, that they cannot anſwer the objections and circumſtances alledged and propoſed; but that this muſt and can be done by them onely, whom the cauſe toucheth and concerneth: to wit, their Officers at *Amboyna*. Here

Here they renownce all the defence and juſtification which they haue already made; as impertinent and inſufficient. They might haue done well then to haue ſpared all this labour, and at firſt to haue left the cauſe to them whom it concernes, as the *Engliſh Company* by their Letters requeſted them. As for precipitation in the cauſe, the *Engliſh Company* requireth none But becauſe the Acts of the Councell at *Amboyna* themſelues containe all that can be legally pleaded in juſtification of the Officers, (for, if in them there be no juſt ground of the condemnation and execution of the *Engliſh*, all ſupervenient proofes come too late to excuſe the Iudges, even by their owne Lawes) therefore the *Engliſh Company* preſume and maintaine, that there is already ground ſufficient, out of the ſame Acts, and out of the Treatie whereof this proceſſe is a plaine breach, for the Lords States generall by an Act of State publiquely to declare the Nullitie and injuſtice of the Proceſſe. But for the judiciall proceedings againſt the particular perſons that haue cõmitted this vnparareld Injuſtice: there may be ſuch order and courſe taken, as his Majeſtie and the Lords States ſhall finde the nature of the cauſe to require. Wherein alſo the greateſt care and expedition that can be vſed for the apprehenſion of the parties, will be no precipitation; conſidering the manifeſt proofes of their Injuſtice, appearing in their owne Acts, as is before declared.

Having finiſhed their prayer to the Lords States generall, to the effect aforeſaid, the ſcope and drift of all, being onely for *Dilation* and *reſpit* in the cauſe: yet as it were repenting them of their former feare and declination of a preſent tryall, they come on a freſh *W.*

with new proofes, which they affirme to be so strong and vigorous, that they are of power, more then sufficiently to giue their Officers an entire discharge, and to confound their Adversaries: and that without helpe of the points before alledged. And to make good these great words, they produce eleven severall Articles taken by deposition of *Laurence Maerschalck* their late Cape Merchant at *Amboyna*, and now returned into *Holland*, and sworn to the same Articles before the *Senate* of *Delfe*, the 4. of *November* last *stilo novo*; whose name in this *Remonstrance* they conceale. Next the y annexe the report and deposition of Signeur *Houtman*, their late Governour at the *Moluccoes*, before mentioned. And in the last place, they repeate some points already by them alledged in this *Remonstrance*, and so shut vp their whole Worke.

For the testimony of *Maerschalck*, it is to be considered in the generall; that he is a partie, being the second man of the Councell of *Amboyna*: and therefore what is before said against the whole Councell, falleth vpon him in his particular with more enforcement. Nevertheless, this protestation against his incompetency to be a witnesse in this cause being thus premised; we will peruse and examine the particulars of his Attestation: yet with this leaue, a little to invert the order of the Articles, (but without prejudice of the substance of them) thereby to take all the matter of one nature together, to avoyd prolixitie and needlesse repetition of the same thing in divers parts of the answer.

The first, second, and third Articles affirme, that as well the *Iapons* as the *English*, not onely signed their

seuerall confessions with every of their hands respectiuely, but joyntly and severally confirmed & persisted in the same, even out of the fetters and irons, at seuerall sessions of the Councell; yea the *English* three or foure seuerall times, without retracting or revoking or changing of any thing: albeit the Governour seriously admonished them to alter or revoke any thing which they had falsly confessed through paine or feare &c. But that all the *English* shrinking vp their shoulders confirmed all they had confessed to be true, and craved mercy and not Iustice.

These impudent fictions are answered by that which is already noted concerning the Requisites and Solennities of the Acts of all Courts of Iustice: which by prescript of the Law it selfe record the passages of every Session, with the date thereof. But in all the Acts of the Court of *Amboyna*, (vnlesse they haue given a false Copie, which yet were to be taken for true against themselues that so falsified it) there is no mention of any more confession then one of every prisoner, nor of any freedome from fetters, nor of any such admonitiō by the Governour as is here pretended. Besides the *English* that are escaped, as well those that were absolved, as the rest, vtterly deny these seuerall points to be true. Yea the gesture here added of the contracting or shrinking vp the shoulders, being no *English* gesture, sufficiently refuteth this fiction.

The fourth Article saith, that *William Webber* one of the Complices confessed he had received a Letter from *Iohn Clarke*, intimating that there was some extraordinary matter and of great importance in hand by the *English* at *Amboyna*: and that *Iohn Clarke* confessed to haue written such a Letter. The

The confeſſion of *Webber* touching this Letter, is acknowledged in the *Engliſh* Relation: but whereas this depoſition ſaith, that *Clarke* alſo confeſſed the writing of ſuch a Letter, the Acts themſelues wherein *Clarks* confeſſion is ſet downe by the *Dutch* Actuary, refuteth it, not making mention of any ſuch thing, nor of any queſtion miniſtred to *Clarke* touching this Letter, or his meaning by that intimation; Which would not haue beene omitted, if the *Fiſcall* had not perceiued that *Webber* had faigned this matter onely to avoyde torture.

The fift Article being of the ſame nature with the eight and ninth, ſhall be anon with them anſwered.

The ſixth and ſeaventh Articles, recite certaine pretended voluntary confeſſions of *Thompſon* made before ſome of the Councell apart: to wit, that he had endured ſo much torture without confeſſion, becauſe he was often vpbraided by Maſter *Towerſon* with drunkenneſſe, and warned that he ſhould not in his cupps diſcover the pretended plot. Wherevpon he had vowed and ſworne to himſelfe, that he would not be the third nor yet the fourth man that confeſſed: what ever torture he ſuffered. But afterwards he confeſſed (ſaith the ſeventh Article) that he was glad that God had reuealed the fact, for the ſaving of innocent bloud, and that he had doubly deſerved death: yet craved mercy. Here let the courſe of the *Dutch* in making *Affidauit*, of the pretended voluntary confeſſiõ of Maſter *Towerſon* before ſix of the Councell apart (and entred into the Acts) be conſidered, as it is truely ſet downe in the anſwer to the *Dutch* Relation: and it will manifeſtly appeare, that this confeſſion of *Thompſons* (if any ſuch

ſuch had beene) was of much more importance to the clearing of the *Dutch* proceedings, then thoſe obſcure words of Maiſter *Towerſon:* and ſo would the rather haue beene brought by way of Atteſtation into the Acts, as the other were. But in the Acts there is no entry of any ſuch confeſſion of *Thomſon:* who alſo going to the execution, and being reproched to be a *Schellam* or villaine, openly and boldly anſwered, that he was as honeſt as the Governor himſelfe, and by and by tooke his death that he was innocent.

The fifth, eighth, and ninth Articles affirme, that *Collins* confeſſed all without torture, and being confronted with Maiſter *Towerſon* before the Councell, averred his confeſſion, and perſwaded him to doe the like; alſo that Maiſter *Towerſon* being another time before the Councell with the reſt of the *Engliſh* priſoners, reproached them with their drunkenneſſe and diſordered liues, and imputed the diſcovery of the conſpiracie to Gods judgement vpon their wickedneſſe: yet that at laſt Maiſter *Towerſon* confeſſed himſelfe to be the Author, and inſtigator of the reſt, and asked them forgiueneſſe.

Of all theſe maters being farre more pregnant (if they were true) to haue beene the ground of the ſentence, then any thing entred in the Acts, there is no one word or mention in all the Proceſſe, although theſe things are here affirmed to haue paſſed before the body of the Councell. But it ſeemeth that *Maerſchalck* (ſince his arrivall in *Holland*) is ſhewed the defects of the Proceſſe, and ſo would ſupply them by his owne teſtimony. But he commeth now too late to make new Acts, after the Copie of the Proceſſe imparted to the

Engliſh,

Engliſh. In particular, *Collins* was tortured with *water* in ſuch ſort, as the view of him, afterwards made *Coulſon* confeſſe without torture, as is ſet down in the *Engliſh Relation*, and yet averred by thoſe alſo that ſaw him come out as *Coulſon* did. Further, how ſenceleſſe had the ſpeech of Maiſter *Towerſon* beene, to impute the diſcovery of the plot, to Gods juſtice vpon the bad life of his pretended Complices, and not rather vpon himſelfe for being the Inventer and Author of the conſpiracy, in it ſelfe more haynous, then any thing he could charge the reſt withall? Laſtly, it is already ſufficiently prooved by more competent witneſſes then *Maerſchalk*, that Maiſter *Towerſon* and the reſt were never together before the Councell from the firſt apprehenſion vntill the laſt ſentence: and that in all that time, he ſpake with none of the *Engliſh*, but *Coulſon*, *Griggs*, and *Fardo*; ſo impudent is this atteſtation of *Maerſchalk*, that he vſed the ſpeeches here pretended, vnto *Collins* and the reſt; and that before the Councell.

The tenth Article ſaith, there was a Letter written by Maiſter *Towerſon* to *Coulſon*, charging him to be the prime and ſole cauſe, that mooved him to this enterpriſe of making himſelfe Maiſter of the Caſtle: and that the ſame Letter was in the hands of the Governor of *Amboyna*.

If this be true, how could Maiſter *Towerſon* make himſelfe the firſt author of this conſpiracy, as the Acts and *Maerſchalcks* owne relation in the former Articles preſent him? How cõmeth it, that there is no mention of this Letter in the Acts, nor the ſame Letter or any authenticall Copie thereof ſent over for juſtification of the cauſe, being ſo pregnant and pertinent a proofe?

The

The 11. Article, telleth a tale of *Collins* his refuſing to ſit and eate with the *Dutch* Merchants, in their paſſage from *Amboyna* to *Iacatra* in the ſhippe, when he and *Beamont* were ſent thither: vpon ſcruple (forſooth) to eate with ſuch honeſt men, being himſelfe a traytor.

This as it is frivolous and of no value in it ſelfe, *Collins* being then as a condemned man to ſtand to the mercy of the *Dutch* Generall at *Iacatra*: ſo the truth of it is vtterly denied by *Beamont* that paſſed with him in the ſame ſhippe, and together with *Collins* did eate at the ſame Table with the *Dutch* Merchants, without ſtraining of any curteſie for the matter.

But to helpe the teſtimony of *Maerſchalk*, that ſweareth all the former points in his owne cauſe, and againſt the very Acts themſelues, and all other probabilities: the *Remonſtrants* in the next Article, ſupply him with a *Conteſtis*, beyond exception as they pretend: to wit, Signeur *Houtman* their late Governour in the *Moluccoes*. Who comming thence to *Amboyna* after the execution, heard and ſaw ſome things pertaining to this buſineſſe; whereof, (being now returned into *Holland*) he maketh report and depoſition, in ſixe ſeverall points, *viz*: Firſt, that it was firmely and without queſtion or doubt beleeved at *Amboyna* generally, and by every man in particular; yea by himſelfe alſo: that the *Engliſh* and *Iapons* there had truely and in effect conſpired the taking of the Caſtle. Secondly, that the ſaid Signeur *Houtman* comming through *Hitto*, *George Sherrock* (one of the *Engliſh* Complices) fell at his feet, and acknowledged the great favour that Governour *Speult* and the Councell at *Amboyna* had done him in

X.

pardoning his delict. Thirdly, that he was afterwards present at *Iacatra* when *Iohn Beamont* (another of the *English* Complices) confessed his fault before the *Dutch* Generall *Carpentiere*, and craved mercy for the same. Fourthly, that himselfe and divers others at *Iacatra*, had good and sure information and notice, that *Beamont* freely confessed the conspiracy also to the *English* President there; but that the *English* President thereupon lockt him vp close from speaking with any man; therby to prevent the dishonour of the treason. Fiftly, that the Governour *Speult* is reputed for a man of worth, honorable and godly, by all that haue conversed with him: and the rest of the Councell also, such as cannot any way be doubted or suspected guiltie of so foule a fact, as to accuse or misvse the *English*, much lesse to put them to death, if they had not beene guilty. Lastly, that the torture of Water is alwayes vsed by the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, and is not so cruell not dangerous, as other kindes of torture vsed in the *Low Countries*, and in all *Europe*.

First, the *English* that were saved from the butchery of *Amboyna*, doe not yet beleeue, that Signeur *Houtman* hath deposed, as is here inferred. For when he was at *Amboyna*, and laboured to be brought in *ex post facto*, for the salving of the businesse; he openly professed: that he would wash his hands of it, and that *Harman van Speult* had begun it, and *Harman van Speult* should end it. And this presumption of theirs, is further confirmed by the manner of citing this Signeur *Houtman*, even in this Article, where his deposition is not simply and clearely alledged; but with this doubtfull variation: *Les dires et depositions du Signeur Governeur Houtman, &c.* Neither is it specified,

where

where or before whom or when he tooke his oath: which yet is according to the Custome set downe, touching the deposition of *Maerschalck*: to wit, that he tooke his oath before the *Senate* of *Delft*, the 4. of *November* 1624. But admit he be sworne to these Articles: let vs examine their particular import. The first is onely of a common opinion and fame that he found at *Amboyna*, that it was a true treason. Is it any marvaile that the *Dutch*, that had made the people beleeue that the *English* meant to haue ript vp the bellies of the women with childe, (even of the Natiues) and to make choice by the beautie and feature of the severall infants, which to saue, and which to slay, had prepared a sufficient rumor against the comming of Signeur *Houtman*, to winne his opinion to their cause? Next, it is not likely that he spake with any, but those of the Castle: who were most of them parties in this butcherie: and therefore would make no report to him, but what served their owne turnes. Further, the judgement being passed against our people, their fact (though never done) might be presumed notorious in Law: and therefore no marvaile he and others gaue credit to it. Yet who knoweth not, that much false judgement happeneth, notwithstanding the notorietie induced by the Acts and sentence? It were an easie matter for a Iudge to answer any injustice thus. But when the judgement, and the Iudges are questioned of Injustice, the notorietie that themselues haue made, is no plea for them. Yet if the Acts containe sufficient proofes for ground of the sentence, then such notorietie may helpe them. But in this case, the Acts shewing that they haue proceeded contrary to Law, inferre their Injustice to be

notorious, as is before shewed. For the second and third Articles, concerning *Sherrock* and *Beamonts* confession of their faults *extra* judicially, and while they were yet in danger: they are of no moment, to proove their guilt, much lesse the guilt of those that were executed, of whom these confessions make no mention; nor especially can they giue any succour to the cause of the Governour and Councell for their proceedings: who ought to haue had the grounds of their sentence in the Acts of the Processe, before they condemned and executed our people. More particularly, *Sherrock* indeed confesseth, that with humble obeysance, he complained to Signeur *Houtman* of the *Dutchs* daily reproaching him with treason, and prayed him that he would deale with the Governor *Speult*, to take order with them for their incivilitie. For (said he) although I had beene guilty, yet being now pardoned, why should they thus reproach me? Other confession then this, he vtterly denieth to haue made to Signeur *Houtman*. *Beamont* also confesseth, that when he came to *Iacatra*, being sent thither to stand to the mercy of the Generall; who then told him, that he came thither to die; he was much amased. But when sodainly the Generall in better earnest told him, he forgaue him; then he gaue him humble, and open thanks; but made no confession of his fault, nor was by the Generall vrged in the least therevnto. For the fourth point, that Signeur *Houtman* and others had such notice, as is here pretended of *Beamonts* confession to the *English* President; who also clapt him vp for it: it were here requisite, that Signeur *Houtman* (if he haue thus attested) did name his Authors if he will be, beleeved.

beleeved. For himſelfe is but *teſtis ex auditu*. In the meane time, not onely *Beamont* denyeth theſe things, but *Collins* that lodged in the ſame chamber at *Iacatra* with him, averreth, that his reſtraint and cloſe cuſtody is vtterly feigned; neither did he ever heare any word or inckling of ſuch his confeſſion to the Preſident. Maiſter *Auguſtine Spalding*, alſo then one of the *Engliſh* Councell at *Iacatra*, (but now returned into *England*) giveth the like report. For the fifth point, being the faire teſtimony of Signeur *Houtman*, touching the perſon of his brother Governor, *Van Speult*, and his Councell; It is a point of civilitie in him, to helpe them with a good word in the generall: but it is farre too light to lay in the ſcoale againſt the ſeverall and pregnant proofes of their foule Injuſtice, before in this reply at large ſpecified, by the witneſſe of all our *Engliſh* that were ſaved (as wel thoſe that were abſolved as the reſt) by cleare circumſtances of the whole buſineſſe, and by the Acts themſelues of the Councell of *Amboyna*. Laſtly, for the Water torture, it appeareth without Signeur *Houtmans* teſtimony, to be vſed by the *Dutch* in the *Indies*. The poore *Polarones* and the *Engliſh* witneſſe it with a miſchiefe. But to make it lawfull, it ſhould be prooved to be vſed in the *Low-Countries*: as hath beene already ſhewed. But why doth Signeur *Houtman*, nor the *Remonſtrants*, in all this diſcourſe ſay nothing for the Fire-torture, which was alſo vſed, and that in moſt barbarous manner and degree vpon the poore *Iapens*, and divers of the *Engliſh*?

The *Remonſtrance* having thus preſſed the teſtimony of *Maerſchalck*, and Signeur *Houtman*, in the next place (being the 13. Article) telleth vs without any witneſſe:

that divers persons (which the *English* Relation mentioneth to be tortured with Fire and Water, were never once touched.

If this were true and certaine, it had beene easie for the *Remonstrants* to haue named the persons touching whom such error is committed. The *English* Relation nameth none but *Iohnson*, *Thomson*, and *Clarke*, to be tortured with Fire. Which of these will the *Remonstrants* deny to be so handled: against such cleare evidence of our part?

The foureteenth Article promiseth, that the particulars and pettie matters (as they are here tearmed) shall be disprooved by the depositions of those that were in presence, and should haue knowne them if any had beene. Therefore vntill they be thus disprooved (which will never be) let them remaine for true; especially being alreadie prooved by the oath of credible persons, and carrying truth in the very circumstances.

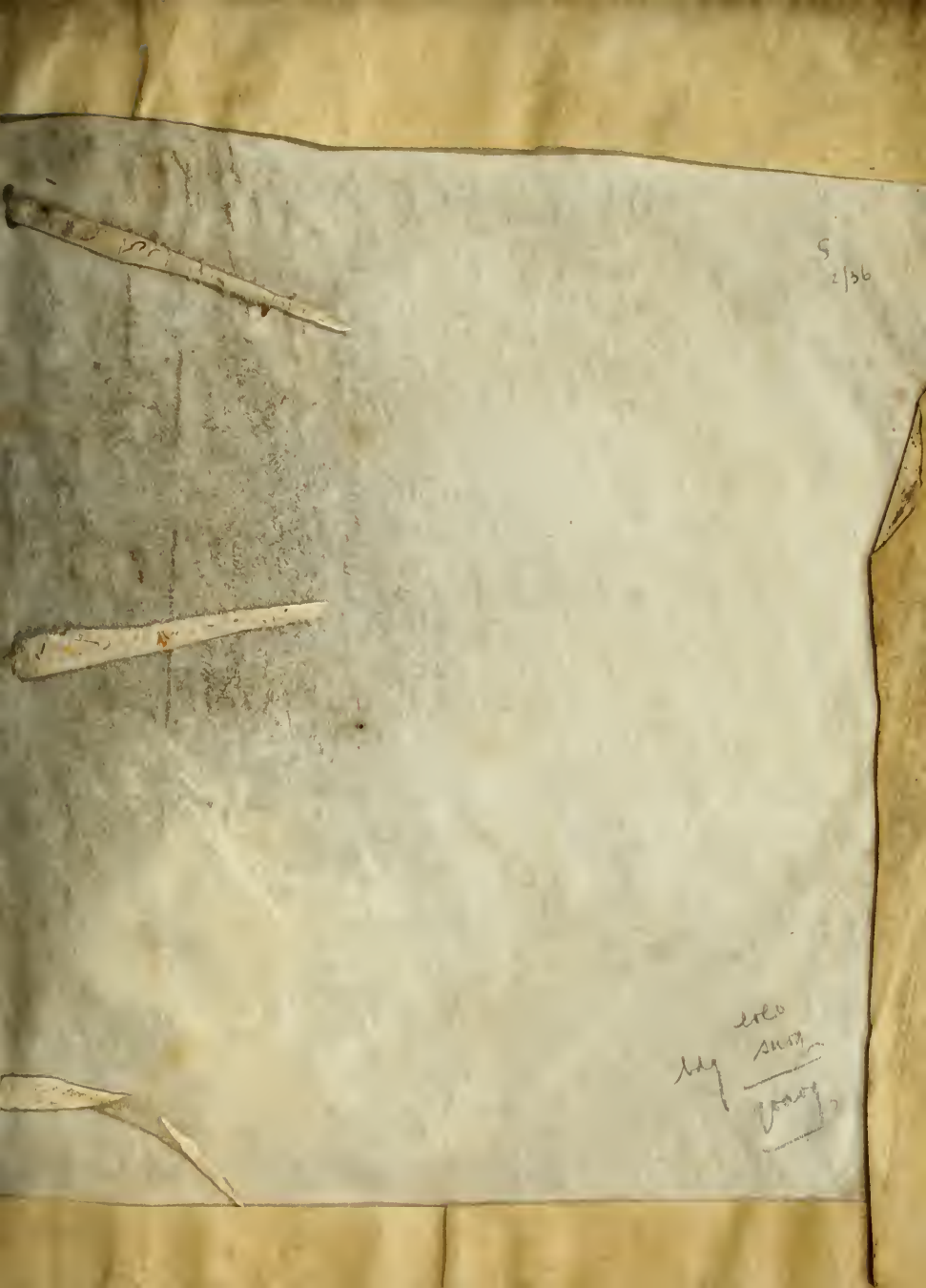
Lastly, for the extraordinary signes that happened at the time of the execution, which are here (scoffingly) tearmed miracles, the same are also prooved by oath, and further by Letters written from some of the servants of the *Dutch* themselues at *Amboyna*, readie to be exhibited vpon occasion. And as it had beene a sillie part of the *English* to haue feigned such matter, so is it no lesse impudence, to deny that which so many as well *Dutch*, and *Indians*, as *English* saw, and knew to be notorious.

I. After all this new charge so confidently given, yet the *Remonstrants* fall off againe, and not desiring to put the trial of the cause vpon these, nor all the rest of their allegations; they returne by way of conclusion to pray the

the Lords States Generall, that there may be a convenient reſpite given for the better examination of the whole matter: and to that end that they will mediate with his Majeſtie, to content himſelfe alſo therewith. But the *Engliſh Eaſt India Company* vpon the grounds before at large deduced, doubt not, but that the cauſe will appeare as well to his Majeſty, as the Lords States to be ripe and readie for ſuch an Act of State as is deſired, and for the apprehenſion of the Authors of this odious and execrable Proceſſe, as ſoone as they, or any of them can be gotten. And then the judiciall Proceſſe againſt them may follow, as ſhall appertaine to ſo foule and infernall a Fact.

(··)

FINIS.

FINIS.

F.R.2.2.2
H.450.